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EDITORIAL

THE VERY THOUGHT OF PRAYER BOOKS SEEMS ALTOGETHER UNMENNONITE to the average modern Mennonite, for it seems to savor of that formalism and superficial religiosity against which he feels the entire Anabaptist movement was a protest. He is usually astonished to discover that the Old Order Amish, most conservative of all Mennonite groups, still use the prayer book almost exclusively in public and private worship. The use of prayer books among the Amish, however, is only a relic of an earlier time when prayer books were widely used among all types of Mennonites. It is surprising that so little attention has been paid by historians to this important segment of Mennonite literature, important because prayer books do reflect as well as form the piety of those who use them. In his usual careful and thorough manner, Dr. Robert Friedmann, has made the first scholarly study of this field and presents the results of this study in his article, "Mennonite Prayer Books, Their Story and Their Meaning."

JOHN UMBLE HAS TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST truly adequate book on the Amish, that by C. G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County*, to give the readers of the REVIEW an excellent and comprehensive picture of Amish culture through the medium of an extended review and discussion of the book. He finds little to criticize in his review, and much to praise. Although Lancaster County Amish may not be altogether typical of the entire Old Order Amish population of the United States, since the various Amish communities tend to vary because of their local autonomy, yet they represent the Amish perhaps at their best, at least in their original American type. Hence the discussion is particularly interesting and valuable.

SILAS HERTZLER'S ANNUAL REPORT ON ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS and Colleges reveals the expected casualties due to the war situation.

C. HENRY SMITH'S COMMUNICATION IN THE BOOK REVIEW SECTION IS WELcomed by the editors, and they are sure that this interesting statement of point of view and attitudes by our senior American Mennonite historian will be appreciated by many readers. Since some of the points raised by Dr. Smith deal with basic historiographical problems, as well as some issues in contemporary Mennonitism, the REVIEW will be glad to print comments by others on these problems, in the belief that a fruitful exchange of views would result. However, the pages of the REVIEW will not be kept open for this beyond the April 1944 issue.

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MENNONITE PRAYER BOOKS

Their Story and Their Meaning

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

The study of the piety of a religious group is a most elusive subject since it deals with the innermost motions of human hearts which never find full expression in external records. The most fruitful approach in such a study would appear to be the scrutiny of prayer books insofar as these reflect, as one should suppose, the real spiritual needs of those who use them. The question is only whether the extant books of this type are sufficiently typical to allow conclusions. As for the Mennonites, almost nothing has been known so far of such books; even the otherwise rather exhaustive *Mennonitisches Lexikon* has no article on this subject, and no hint in this direction. And yet a careful investigation of the different Mennonite historical libraries brings to light to our great surprise a stimulating array of such books whose study will prove to be rewarding in many directions.

It is uncertain when Mennonites first began to use printed prayers for their devotional and church life. It seems most probable that it was among the Waterlanders of the early seventeenth century in Holland, then the most liberal and progressive branch of Dutch

Mennonites, that this innovation was first introduced. The Waterlanders were a group of open-minded Christians who were ready for adjustments to the spiritual life of the surrounding world in spite of the fact that they were fully conscious of belonging to the great tradition of Dutch Anabaptism. Presumably it was the vigorously debated controversy of that time about silent or audible prayer which sped the change from spontaneous and free prayer to the use of written and printed prayers. However, it should be emphasized that the use of prayer books, whether in Holland, Germany, or Switzerland, never became an exclusive custom in Mennonitism.

"Silent prayer in worship," says Robert Barclay in his unsurpassed history of the *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth,*[1] "was practiced from the rise of Mennonite congregations. The practice of ministers regularly praying aloud was first introduced among the Waterlander Mennonites by Hans de Ries. Silent prayer, however, appears to have been the rule. It was falling into disuse before 1723[2] and was finally completely abolished." The story of this change from silent to audible prayer was studied by a Dutch scholar, F. S. Knipscheer,[3] whose findings are most astonishing. A few illustrations from his paper may be helpful as an introduction to our subject.

There exist two reports of 1596 which describe in detail the manner in which silent prayer was practiced among Dutch congregations.[4] On the other hand, it was not before 1685 that the representative defense for audible or vocal prayer was written and pub-

[1] Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth,* 3rd ed. London, 1879, p. 85f. He follows mostly Herman Schyn's famous *Historia Christianorum qui in Belgio Foederato inter Protestantes Mennonitae Appellantur,* translated from the Latin into Dutch by G. Maatschoen, 3 vols. 1744-1745. Cf. also Ludwig Keller, *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien,* Leipzig, 1885, p. 438, note 4, and p. 86, where the subject of prayer is discussed.

[2] The date of the first Latin edition of Schyn's history. This, however, is true only for the more progressive branch of the Dutch Mennonites, the Waterlanders and United Frisians and Flemish. S. F. Rues, who visited the different groups in Holland in 1742, reports that the Old-Flemish or "fine" Mennonites were at that time still practicing silent prayer in their worship (of which he gave a detailed description). Cf. S. F. Rues, *Aufrichtige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustand der Mennoniten . . . in den Vereinigten Niederlanden,* Jena, 1743, p. 47f. On page 128 he describes the practice of audible prayer in the worship of the other group (the Doopsgezinden) which he calls the "coarse" Mennonites.

[3] F. S. Knipscheer, "Geschiedenis van het stil en het stimmelijk gebed bij de Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1897, pp. 77-120 (up to 1661); *Ibid.,* 1898, pp. 55-77 (after 1661). This otherwise exhaustive study does not pay any attention to the subject of prayer books.

[4] *Van de maniere der heymelijcke ghebeden.*

lished.[5] In olden times, we learn, it was customary for the whole congregation to kneel at the call of the minister and remain in silent devotion until the minister rose again. This was done twice during the service, at its beginning and its close. Elder Jansen Schedemaker, who in 1596 described the worship, concludes his tract characteristically by saying, "everyone called upon the Lord without confusion or indecent noise."[6] This was the spirit of old Mennonitism as it was practiced everywhere. For instance, when the famous Amsterdam Mennonite liberal, Galenus de Haan, came to visit the Mennonite church of Altona near Hamburg in 1678, where Gerrit Roosen was the minister, he was politely requested to follow the practice of silent prayer during his conduct of the service.[7]

But gradually a new trend arose among the Dutch Waterlanders in preferring audible (*stimmelijke*) prayer before and after the sermon.[8] Hans de Ries (1553-1638), the powerful leader of this group, is said to have moved his congregation to tears by his prayers which he spoke before the whole assembly. Most likely it was these prayers which he later put down on paper, thus constituting, as far as we know, the first printed Mennonite prayer collection. We do not know exactly the date of this collection, but a remark in G. Maatschoen's supplementary volume to Herman Schyn's history[9] gives some hints. He reports a book by one Jan Gerrits of 1650, to which the editor had added a formulary of three sermons by De Ries and an anonymous appendix of fourteen prayers (*aandachtige Gebeden*). With regard to these, Maatschoen points out that he found the same prayers, save the last three, at the end of old editions

[5] See the two articles in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* on "Lansberger" (1596), II, 619, and "Adrian van Eeghen" (1685), I, 506.

[6] *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1897, p. 82.

[7] C. B. Roosen, *Geschichte der Mennonitengemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona,* Hamburg, 1886, p. 53. The report written by Gerhard Roosen on the visit of Galenus de Haan in 1678 reads partly as follows, "Galenus was admitted to the pulpit, yet with the polite request to conform to Hamburg's usual practice of conducting the prayer in silence." Silent prayer at the beginning of the Sunday worship has also been the custom among the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference in Pennsylvania from the beginning, and still is the rule. Cf. John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference,* 1938, p. 34.

[8] *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen,* 1897, p. 109 f. An old record of 1644, a biography of De Ries, reports, "Belangende de maniere van de predication van Hans de Ries, die waren een weynig anders als de oude ghewoonte van de Doopsgezinden hier te lande, de welcke met stille gebeden en sonder voorlesen van text hare vermaningen begonnen en eyndigden, behalven Lenaert Clock, die uyt Duytsland commende, syne gebeden oock overluyt ded als Hans de Ries."

[9] Gerardus Maatschoen, *Aanhangzel of Derde Deel van Geschiedenisse der Mennoniten, door den Here Hermannus Schyn.* Amsterdam, 1745, pp. 75-76.

of the Waterlander Confession of Faith by Hans de Ries (and Lubbert Gerrits) and that he therefore believes that these prayers might also have been composed by this revered teacher. As such old editions he reports prints of 1610 and 1618.[10] According to this observation one may well take the year 1610 as the year of origin of Mennonite prayer literature. Nothing earlier has been found so far.

The soundness of Maatschoen's conjecture is proved by another finding. De Ries was also a successful hymn writer and as such he composed various hymnals, the *Lietboeck* of 1582 and *Het Boeck der Ghesanghen* of 1618 and 1624. The latter contains also the aforementioned confession of faith. Several years after his death, a new edition of this hymnal was published, the *Gesangh Boeck* of 1643, but this time amplified *met eenige aandachtige Gebeden* no doubt by De Ries. Regarding these prayers of 1643, the study by F. S. Knipscheer contains the important remark[12] that "these prayers, designed to be used before and after the sermon, give the impression of having been drawn up with the intention that the minister should read them aloud."

It is most probable that this prayer collection of 1643 and the one mentioned by Maatscheon are identical and that the two books published after De Ries' death, namely the hymnal of 1643 and the Gerrits book of 1650, simply took over the collection first printed in the Waterlander confession of 1610. At present there is no opportunity to consult all these books which are found only in European libraries. But fortunately there was recently found in the Goshen College Library a "Sammelband" of old Dutch tracts, which among other material also has a *Korte belijdenisse des geloofs,* Amsterdam, 1700, with an appendix of "several pious prayers." Thanks to the description by Maatschoen[13] this section could be perfectly

[10] See Maatschoen, *op cit.,* p. 517. The *Catalogus,* Amsterdam, 1919, lists on page 169, editions only from 1618 onward. Many reprints appeared. It is known that this Confession of Faith was decisive for John Smyth and the early English General Baptists. W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith,* Philadelphia, 1911, prints on pages 26-48 an English translation of this Confession out of the Latin text of Schyn, but he gives no further comment, and of course no prayers. Also J. G. De Hoop Scheffer prints the same confession in his *History of the Free Churchmen, called the Brownists,* (Engl. ed.) Ithaca, N. Y., 1922, pp. 219-230, after the original manuscript written in English. Strangely enough, these two versions differ from each other in extent; McGlothlin has forty articles while De Hoop Scheffer's version has only thirty-eight.

[11] *Catalogus,* pp. 267, 268.

[12] *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1897, p. 110.

[13] Maatschoen, *op cit.,* p. 75.

identified as a late reprint of the confession of 1610. Our aforementioned conjecture as to the origin of printed prayers is thus corroborated and we are able to give a first hand report on the earliest Mennonite prayer collection.

The contents of the prayer collection of 1610 are as follows. The introduction is formed by an unusually fine meditation on Christ on the Cross, followed by two general prayers to be spoken before and after the sermon, then five prayers for every day, viz., morning and evening prayer, prayers before and after the meal, and one more short prayer; then a prayer to be spoken before a sick person; and two further prayers in tribulation and temptation (*als men in aanvechtinge en zwaar in tentatie is*) and in depression and worry (*als men in druck en angst is*); and finally a prayer for a very sick person, to be spoken by himself. In reading these prayers one must agree with the reports of the extraordinary spiritual power of De Ries quoted above. One feels the spontaneity of his words which obviously derive from a firsthand spiritual experience. Although there is little opportunity at present for comparative studies, the general impression is that this small collection is no mere reproduction of foreign patterns, as so often occurs in devotional literature. Here is an open heart full of understanding for all kinds of human need and temptation, as particularly the last four prayers reveal. Thus this collection of eleven prayers might rightly be called a model of devotional literature, and from the point of view of later developments it is the very "archetype" of most of the later prayer collections among Mennonites.

However, De Ries was not the only one in this field, and we learn to our surprise that the innovation of printed prayers even cut across the lines between the opposing parties on audible or silent prayers. The study by Knipscheer[14] reveals that the conservative Flemish Mennonites (*Vlamingers*) produced a printed prayer collection at nearly the same time as the liberal Waterlanders and Frisians. In 1618 Francois de Knuyt, one of the Flemish preachers, published a *Short Confession of Faith*[15] to which he, although an advocate of silent prayer, added a set of prayers. The contents of this collection as described by Knipscheer are as follows: first, a prayer "to be spoken by those who stand in the Word" (ministers),

14 *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen*, 1897, pp. 106-109.

15 *Catalogus*, pp. 170, 171; many reprints up to 1709; see also the article in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, 515.

then a prayer at the beginning of the meeting (worship) and one after it "before one leaves," a prayer at the Lord's Supper, prayers at other ceremonial occasions, and finally several prayers for use at home (morning, evening, at meal time, etc.). This collection was prefaced by an "Instruction concerning the practice of praying" (*Een nut end noodich onderrecht tot de godzalighe oeffeninge des Gebeds*), in which the author stresses that these prayers are a mere suggestion without binding anybody by them. In Matthew 6:15 Christ denounced public prayer as hypocrisy; accordingly he, De Knuyt, has put the prayers in such a way that one may use them "secretly for oneself." However, there could also be meetings, he continues, of such a concord, love, peace, and unity, that people might pray to God in common through the mouth of the minister with the same words as if with one mouth. It is true, De Knuyt concludes, that everybody has his own way of calling on and supplicating God, but there can also be times and places for public prayer. This statement reveals an important fact: in spite of all loyalty to the old heritage, things were in full transition toward a new pattern of piety which led the different parties among Dutch Mennonites along much the same road, at least in the matter of prayer. As De Knuyt has put it, "it is not my intention to quarrel but to edify" (*het is niet mijn doel to twisten allen to stichten*).

We know very little about the influence of the book by De Knuyt save the fact that it passed through at least five editions.[16] On the other hand we know that the works of De Ries were very influential, not only in his own church but also beyond the borders of the Netherlands, both in England among the General Baptists, and in Eastern Germany among the Mennonite congregations of Prussia and Danzig. In the East, in fact, the same competition existed in the matter of spiritual guidance as in Holland and caused the same controversies.

In an earlier study of mine on the Dutch Mennonite devotional literature[17] much attention was given to a *Formulary of Several Prayers* in a (there described) Prussian manual of 1660. It was recognized as a translation of a Dutch original by Leonhard Klock, published in Dutch in 1625 and sent to the "unanimous brethren in Prussia." It was later also adopted by T. T. Van Sittert for his

[16] According to the *Catalogus*.

[17] See Robert Friedmann, "Dutch Mennonite Devotional Literature . . ., 1625-1753," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XV, 1941, pp. 187-207.

German church manual of 1664, and through this channel gained far-reaching prominence and circulation, remaining in use, at least in America, up to the present day.[18] Accordingly this collection deserves a more detailed study at this point.

Leonhard Klock, or in Dutch spelling *Leenaert Clock,* came from South Germany[19] and this fact may explain the appeal of his work to the German-speaking brethren. Shortly before 1590 he migrated to tolerant Holland with its manifold Mennonite parties. In 1591 he was active for their unification, laboring together with Hans de Ries in drafting the *Concept of Cologne,* a union confession of broad-mindedness and wisdom. Later he became stricter in his convictions, particularly regarding the ban and intermarriage with other denominations, and consequently severed his connections with the liberal Waterlanders. For a while he was a preacher of the "High German" Mennonite congregation in Haarlem and later in Amsterdam ("High German" was then the third major group along with the Frisian and Flemish Mennonites). Later he started his own branch, and many a quarrel ensued. He was a prominent hymn writer, composing most of his hymns in the Dutch language.[20] One of them, the well known praise hymn

O Gott Vater, wir loben Dich,
Und Deine Güte preisen. . . .

is still used today by the Amish.[21] Like Hans de Ries he used to pray "overloud" in the service and it may be that this practice, brought over from Germany, inspired him to write down a set of prayers some fifteen years after the first publication of the De Ries prayer collection, and to send it to the brethren in Prussia. This original edition of 1625 is unfortunately not available; our oldest edition at hand is the Van Sittert manual of 1664.

Characteristically, Klock called his book *Forma* (i.e. formulary) *eenigher christelijker ghebeden,* by this deliberately paralleling the

18 First American print in 1790, as an appendix to G. Roosen's *Christliches Gemütsgespräch* (cf. H. S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature,* Goshen, 1929, p.7) It appears in all later editions of the *Gemütsgespräch.*

19 *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 546, article "Konzept von Köln." The biographical article on "Clock," *Menn. Lex.,* I, 364 f, does not give any particulars about his origin.

20 Rudolf Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903, pp. 113-117.

21 *Ausbund,* hymn No. 131; Van Sittert manual of 1664, hymn No. 2. Cf. also Wolkan, *op. cit.,* pp.114, 119. As for the tunes see J. W. Yoder, *Amische Lieder,* Huntingdon, Pa., 1942, hymn No. 1.

prayer books of the state churches, both Reformed and Lutheran. There was a definite reason for this title. He, for the first time, included in his collection prayers for the practice of the ordinances, baptism, Lord's Supper, and the marriage ceremony, prayers which are not found in the De Ries collection. In spite of a certain stiffness of these prayers in general, they are yet prayers of genuine religious value, some of which later became of real and lasting influence. We find at least two prayers which reveal the true spiritual roots of the writer, namely the prayers II and III in the Van Sittert manual of 1664. Prayer II, *Form eines allgemeinen Gebets nach der Predigt,* later became an outstanding model of Mennonite prayer which we shall meet frequently. It has a fine Christian spirit which especially appealed to the Swiss Brethren. For instance it asks for mercy "für alle, die Dich (Gott) und uns hassen, verfolgen und Leid antun. Vergib es ihnen, denn sie wissen nicht, was sie tun. Darum rechne ihnen auch unsrethalben keine Schuld zu. . . . Wir bitten auch für alle Gutherzigen und die Dein Wort gerne hören, aber keine Kraft haben, sich zur Gehorsamkeit zu begeben, gib ihnen doch Kraft durch den Heiligen Geist. . . ." There is also a short passage praying for all those who suffer for the sacred testimony, being in prison, in bonds, pursued, exiled, despised, oppressed, or else deprived of all goods and all consolation. But in general, the peaceful tone of toleration prevails just as it does in the *Concept of Cologne* of 1591. There is also a passage praying for all kings[22] and authorities, "dasz wir unter ihnen ein still geruhsames und gottseliges Leben führen mögen." Prayer III reveals more clearly the emotional side of the new piety. "Brich, zerschlag, und zerknirsch unsere Herzen, dass sie giessende Thränen lassen, die Du, o Vater, ansehen mögest . . . und also bitten, so wollest Du uns Deine grosse Begierde und des Herzens Zuneigung geben, darzu ein süsses andächtiges Wesen, um mit kindlicher Liebe dich, o Gott, als unseren Vater anzurufen. . ." This is exactly the tone of emerging pietism, for instance in Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* of 1612, which at about this time was becoming generally accepted. It is surprising that just these two prayers II and III are absent in the Prussian edition of 1660, which for that reason is much poorer than the corresponding Amsterdam edition of 1664.

As for the sources of the Klock book, it is not possible to give a

[22] By that time Prussia was a part of the Polish kingdom.

definite statement. It may be that the Dutch Reformed prayerbook had some influence, particularly since it is mentioned in the preface, or it may be also that Johannes Arndt and other foreign devotional literature played a role. But above all, Hans de Ries must have been of major influence, since his type of spirituality was dominant among all groups of Mennonites. Nonetheless, in comparing the prayer collections of De Ries and Klock, we find conspicuous differences. For instance, De Ries has no prayers for use with ordinances; on the other hand Klock omits completely prayers for "Temptation and anxiety." (The two general prayers II and II do not apply at all to particular situations of distress.) We face here a difference of spirituality and probably of temperament which clearly distinguishes both the men and their work. Further, the De Ries collection may have served as the "archetype" of all following prayer books of Mennonites, as stated above, in the sense that the motive of consolation in agony and anguish truly became the prevailing one in all later prayer practice. Its title, *Eenighe aandachtige ghebeden* already indicates this intention. On the other hand Klock's *Forma eenigher ghebeden* points to a quite different function: it became the "standard" formulation of Mennonite prayers in general, combining expression of genuine religious experience with pious emotionalism and (partly) mere formalism. Yet unexpectedly it became the prayer model for centuries to come, at times modified and paraphrased, but never completely displaced. Leonhard Klock has thus become one of the outstanding authors in Mennonite history, although nearly unknown by name even to scholars. Some of Klock's hymns won enduring influence through the *Ausbund,* and his prayers outlasted his time through the activity of Swiss Brethren who adopted and assimilated them in a particular way. To the study of this process of reshaping prayers we now turn our attention, an uncultivated field indeed in Mennonite studies.

Soon after 1650 Swiss Brethren began to emigrate to the Palatinate and other parts of the Rhine Valley; but the main surge of emigration, prompted by increased oppression, took place between 1690 and 1720. It was just during this time of hardship and migration that the group produced several prayer books in which the heritage of the Dutch brethren was recast in the spirit of a so much different background and different actual conditions.

The first example of Swiss Mennonite prayer books is a small and little known booklet of sixteen pages, called *Das Gebätt von Hans*

Reist, samt einem Lied, "Es ist eine wunderschöne Gab."[23] Neither place nor year of publication is given, but its author is well known from his struggle with the stricter Jacob Ammann, which resulted in the deplorable Amish schism of 1693.[24] Since one passage of the prayer asks God not to permit any more disunion and separation (*Zwietracht und Zertrennung*), the prayer must be dated after this division, let us say about 1700. It is not unlikely that this booklet was printed in Basel at the office of Johann Jakob von Mechel who according to all evidences was the anonymous publisher of quite a number of Swiss Anabaptist books of that time.[25] Upon careful examination of this new prayer we discover in it with surprise parts of the *Allgemeines Gebet nach der Predigt* of the Klock formulary, to be sure in a very free paraphrase, adapted to the new situation. But the main purport of the prayer also has changed. In Holland and Prussia this particular prayer was understood to be a prayer for "after the sermon" in a well regulated ecclesiastical life. In Switzerland, however, under conditions like those obtaining at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was changed to a prayer "in worry and tribulation." And that makes the case so remarkable. A need for a spontaneous prayer out of the depth of the heart is to be expected—but here we meet a written prayer looking somewhat like a literary recast of an earlier model. To give an illustration, the prayer for persecutors begins like that of 1664 but is enlarged as follows: "if they plot against Thy holy word and righteousness, then, O God, listen to our prayer in Heaven and come down to interfere with all Thy might and undo their evil designs and plots."[26] The prayer concerning all "goodhearted people who like to listen to God's word but have not strength enough to enter into God's obedience" is changed in a very characteristic way. Reist prays: "Wir bitten Dich, Du heiliger Vater, für alle die Menschen, so gerne wollten Deinen Willen tun, Herr Gott, gib ihnen die Gnade,

[23] See Wolkan, *op. cit.*, p. 156. There is also a later edition of the same book, bearing on the title page the name *Hans Rösch* instead of Hans Reist, which of course is only a spelling error. Goshen College Library has both editions.

[24] See Milton Gascho, "The Amish Division of 1693-1697 in Switzerland and Alsace," *Menn. Quarterly Review*, IX, 1937, pp. 235-266.

[25] On J. J. von Mechel see Robert Friedmann, "The Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren, 1600-1800," *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XVI, 1942, p. 199f. The story of this hitherto hardly known earliest Swiss publisher of Mennonite books is in preparation and will appear in the near future.

[26] "Wenn sie Rät und Anschläg machen wider Dein heiliges Wort und Gerechtigkeit, so wöllest Du, Herr Gott im Himmel erhören und wöllest hinzu fahren mit Deiner grossen Kraft und ihnen ihr böses Fürnehmen and Anschläg zu nüt machen."

dass sie Dich von Herzen lieben können," and then he continues, "wir bitten Dich auch für alle Menschen, die uns viel Gutes antun mit Speis und Trank, mit Haus und Herberg uns grosse Lieb und Treu erzeigen und beweisen, Herr Gott, biss (=sei) ihr reicher Belohner hier und im ewigen Leben. . . ." There is no doubt that Reist prays here for the so-called "Half-Anabaptists" (*Halbtäufer*) in Switzerland, folks who sympathized with the Anabaptists and aided them without, however, joining their church.[27] Reist prays also for kings and authorities (although kings were unknown in the Swiss confederation) and, like Klock, continues "and give us Thy grace that we might carry on a quiet life under their government in praise of Thy holy name and for the improvement of the blessedness of our soul" (I Pet. 1:9).

At about the same time as Reist's prayer was printed another remarkable Swiss Mennonite devotional book was published, again most likely at the office of Von Mechel in Basel. It is the *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen* (1702, second edition 1742) which was described in detail in another study of mine on the "Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren."[28] In its parts V and VI, this book contains a new and hitherto unnoticed edition of the Van Sittert translation of the Dordrecht Confession and also the Klock prayers. Yet, the unknown editor of this most valuable compilation modified and enlarged both and in so doing revealed the characteristically different genius of the Swiss congregations to which he undoubtedly belonged. In the present context we are interested in these changes insofar as they shed additional light on the history of the spiritual transitions in Mennonitism. Let us therefore examine these changes with this in mind.

First of all, the *Confession* itself contains a new article, inserted as number six, "Concerning the Holy Spirit," about whom nothing was stated in the Dordrecht concept. We do not know whether the editor did this by authority of the church or by his own decision. In either case it shows his stronger sense for spiritual issues. No later edition of the *Confession,* including those published in America,

27 Cf. the article "Halbtäufer" in *Menn. Lex.,* II, 234 and John Horsch, "The Half-Anabaptists of Switzerland," *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XIV, 1940, p. 57f. (reprinted now in Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe,* Scottdale, Pa., 1942, pp. 392-395). The present prayer is the earliest record of these people; Horsch does not mention it. He speaks only of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht.*

28 Cf. Friedmann, "Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren," *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XVI, 1942, p. 204 ff.

has ever reprinted this article. The prayer book shows even greater editorial changes. The word "Formulary" is omitted on the title page (which now reads, *Etliche christliche Gebete*), intimating the editor's care to prevent misunderstanding. Further, he is anxious to clarify the true meaning of the whole collection, and for that reason adds a few phrases to the preface of Klock's prayer book, though without indicating that they were not written by the original author "L.C." These phrases show that he was troubled by the same question which disturbed Francois de Knuyt in his preface of 1618. The passage runs as follows, "I do not want to prescribe, measure, and weigh the spirit of prayer in God's children, and would not approve if someone thought to take such spiritual offerings rather from external forms and not from the good treasure of his heart to bring them to the Lord. On the contrary, my intention is only this that I might help a little those who are unskilled in prayer." He then reprints the complete collection of Klock, including the forms of prayers at the ordinances, but then adds two new items. Prayer XIX, *Um Vergebung der Sünden,* requires attention in particular because its spirit is so different from the general style. "Ach, gerechter und aller heiligster Gott," it begins, "der Du selbst in Deinen Boten noch Tadel findest, wie soll ich mich erkühnen, Dir zu nahen, der ich das Unrecht in mich saufe wie Wasser. . . ." This is the tone of pietism proper at its climax, and the prayer must have been adopted from one of the popular Lutheran or Reformed devotional books of the time.[29] The concluding item XX, probably also taken from an unknown foreign prayer book, is a queer presentation of a fictitious "non-acceptable prayer by Cain and an acceptable one by Abel," a typical pietistic piece of education to devotion. At the end of this part of the *Güldene Aepffel,* we find instead of Klock's hymnal a *Sing Catechism* in eleven questions and answers, and one hymn of unknown origin, *Mir nach, spricht Christus unser Held.*[30] The first Swiss devotional and prayer book was thus completed, directing the brotherhood somewhat in the same line as Hans Reist did, and presumably coming out of his group. It represents a spirit of partial accommodation to and adoption of the new trends, and at the same time, an appreciation and cherishing of the heritage of old.

[29] The American reprint of this collection as an appendix to the 1790 edition of G. Roosen's *Christliches Gemütsgespräch* has this prayer too. Cf. Bender, *Two Centuries . . .*, p. 7.

[30] Discussed in the above quoted treatment of the Swiss Mennonite devotional literature, *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XVI, 1942, p.212.

The same frame of mind is also found in the next book to be studied, the *Send-Brieff von einem Liebhaber Gottes Wort* (about 1715), also discussed in our earlier study on Swiss Mennonite devotional literature.[31] This book again consists of two parts, the epistle of the imprisoned brother first, and then a set of prayers and hymns. It thus gives the impression of a kind of imitation of the *Güldene Aepffel* on a much smaller scale. But there are two remarkable differences which demand our attention. The epistle is followed first by an eleborated *Schönes Gebet* of nearly eight pages in length, in which we again recognize with surprise a new combination of parts of the prayers II and III by Klock with parts of Reist's prayer and some new passages. This gives us clear evidence as to how prayers were reshaped and remodeled in those days, seemingly more as a literary product than a spontaneous expression. The *Allgemeines Gebet* by Klock (II) must really have had a great appeal to the brethren since they worked so much on it. We shall meet it further on once more in a new pattern. The opening words, however, of the *Schönes Gebet,* are taken not from the prayer just mentioned, but from Klock's prayer III, the *Anderes andächtiges allgemeines Gebet.* The passage about "disunion and separation," and that about the Half-Anabaptists in Reist's prayer, are absent; the prayer for kings and authorities is given with a slight but significant change: "O Herr, gib auch deinen milden Segen und den guten Frieden über Stadt und Land, und verleih uns deine Gnade, dass wir ein stilles und gottfürchtiges Leben führen können." Here we are reminded of the antithesis so typical for the transition from Anabaptism to Pietism, namely that between "gottseliges Leben" (godly life, Klock, 1625, 1664) and "gottfürchtiges Leben" (godfearing life, here; Reist omitted the word "gottfurchtiges" completely), an antithesis deriving from a different understanding of life as a whole. The prayer for persecutors is almost the same as in Reist's prayer.

In the next section fifteen further prayers are united under a new heading, *Gebeter auf allerhand Anliegen und Nöthen gerichtet* (prayers directed to different concerns and needs). This collection prints twelve prayers lifted word for word from the *Formulier* of 1664, or from the *Güldene Aepffel* of 1702, including the five prayers for the ordinances which, strictly speaking, have no bearing at all upon "concerns and needs." And then, there are three new

[31] *Ibid.* p. 210.

prayers, *Um die Reinigkeit des Herzens, Um die Nachfolge Christi,* and *Um das Reich Christi,* all three of different character from the rest. With great surprise we find these last three prayers verbatim in Johannes Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein voller christlicher Tugenden* (1612), the great prayer book of the Lutheran pietists. We know that the latter was also a very popular book among Mennonites in the Palatinate and presumably in Switzerland. The adoption of prayers from this book again reveals clearly the spiritual situation of the time and the tolerant attitude toward foreign materials, first advocated in Van Sittert's preface of 1664.[32] The conclusion of our book gives the *Sing-Catechism* from the *Güldene Aepffel,* followed by five hymns, of which two were by Klock, one from the *Ausbund,* and one from the *Güldene Aepffel.* The second devotional companion and prayer book of the Swiss and Palatinate congregations was now ready, being definitely different from Klock's *Formulary* from which the greater part was taken. The influx of pietistic atmosphere is sensible in spite of the fine old Anabaptist genius of the epistle itself.

Eventually we turn to the most important book in our series, the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht, darinnen schöne, geistreiche Gebäter, darmit sich fromme Christenherzen zu allen Zeiten und in allen Nöthen trösten.* This book again was discussed in a preliminary way in the repeatedly mentioned study on Swiss devotional literature. It is surprising that this book in spite of its significance has received so little attention in scholarly studies, and nothing has become known about its origin and history. The *Mennonitisches Lexikon* devotes fourteen lines to it as a mere reference, and the Amsterdam *Catalogus* mentions only one European edition of 1753 (without place of publication) remarking laconically, *Gebedenboek der Doopsgezinden van der Palts* (prayer book of the Mennonites in the Palatinate). More important seems to be the remark by C. Henry Smith[33] that the *Christenpflicht* appeared in Europe as early as 1727. Unfortunately Smith fails to give any location or other particulars of this edition, and since no copy or other reference regarding such an early print could be found, the matter must remain obscure. However, an edition of 1739 has been found in the

[32] See Friedmann, "Dutch Mennonite Devotional Literature," *Menn. Quart. Rev.* XV, 1941.

[33] C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania,* Norristown, 1929, p. 350.

Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, which has completely escaped the knowledge of historians.[34] It is the earliest known publication of this book. Interestingly enough, the book was printed at Kayserslautern in the Palatinate, at that time a place strictly forbidden to Mennonites. Neff, in his article "Kaiserslautern,"[35] refers to an order of 1744 prohibiting to Mennonites any place of worship, marriage, yes, even any sojourn in this city. And yet, in this city was a printing press which took the risk of serving Mennonites and producing such a fine work.

The discovery of this edition furnishes the necessary evidence to continue the line of descent of Mennonite prayer books. Without doubt, Swiss Anabaptist-Mennonites in the Palatinate in 1739 edited this book which already six years later, in 1745, passed also through its first American edition at the Ephrata press in Pennsylvania.[36] Since the story of this book is completely unknown, a short list of all European editions, as far as attainable, may be welcome at this place.

1. 1739 Kayserslautern, Palatinate (Scottdale, Pa.)
2. 1753 no place; (Hist. Library of the United Menn. Church, Amsterdam), *Catalogus* p. 233
3. 1781 Pirmasens, Palatinate (Goshen Coll. Library.)
4. 1781 Zweybrücken (Bluffton College Library), with Haslibacher Lied as appendix
5. 1787 Herborn, Nassau (G.C.L. and B.C.L.), combined with the *Lustgärtlein*
6. 1796 no place, likely Basel (G.C.L.), advertised by the Von Mechel publishing house, Basel, 1822
7. 1816 Zweybrücken (G.C.L.), like No. 4
8. 1832 Basel, Von Mechel (G.C.L.)
9. 1837 Zweybrücken (G.C.L.), like No. 4
10. 1840 Reinach near Basel (G.C.L.)
11. 1852 Regensburg (G.C.L.)

In America twenty editions appeared between 1745 and 1927.[37] The later editions were considerably amplified and as such

[34] Bender, *Two Centuries . . .*, p. 165, and *Catalogue of the Mennonite Historical Library in Scottdale, Pa.*, 1929, p. 63.

[35] Article "Kaiserslautern" in *Menn. Lexikon*, II, 452.

[36] See J. F. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 1742-1800, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 464, with pictures of the title-page of the second edition, 1770. See also Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[37] All editions listed in Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

have found wide response. The last reprint in Scottdale, Pa., occurred in 1937, yet the Amish in Lancaster County, Pa., had the book printed as late as 1940.[38] All these facts prove the unusual popularity of the book and its unique place in the religious life of Mennonitism since the eighteenth century. However, it is worth noting that neither this book nor any other Mennonite prayer book has ever been translated into English. And there are clear reasons for this. Those groups which remained conservative regarding printed prayers, mostly the Amish brethren, also remained conservative regarding their German tongue, whereas all the others who gradually turned to English, left this practice behind also and returned to free prayers, thus reviving the original way of Anabaptist devotion.

The *Christenpflicht* has no preface and so we get no information about the compiler and his intentions from the book itself; everything must be inferred from its contents. The early editions contain thirty-six prayers. A short synopsis of them will be given in the following, together with a list of the parallel passages or sources in other literature as far as such could be located.

(1) *Ein schönes Morgengebet,* found in the *Formulary* of 1664 as prayer X, and in the *Send-Brieff* as No. 9.

(2) *Ein schönes Abendgebet,—Formulary* XIII, *Send-Brieff* No. 11.

(3) *Ein schönes, allgemeines Gebet in vielen Anliegen und Nöthen täglich zu gebrauchen.* This is the prayer treated several times previously in this study, appearing as *Allgemeines Gebet nach der Predigt* in the *Formulary* (II), *Gebätt* von Hans Reist, and *Schönes Gebätt* in the *Send-Brieff*. In the *Christenpflicht* it covers nine pages and represents a new version or paraphrase, containing elements of all three preceding forms. As a heading the editor uses the same caption which the editor of the *Send-Brieff* used for his entire selection from the 1664 prayers, namely "prayers in many worries and needs." In this prayer appears again the important passage concerning all "goodhearted people who love us and do good unto us and prove mercy with food and drink, house and shelter, but who have little strength to come into the obedience of God. . . ," a passage which alludes to the "Half-Anabaptists." This passage prompted John Horsch in a valuable study to assign the entire prayer book

[38] Four editions in all were printed since 1927. Copies in Goshen College Library. A new edition is now in press at Scottdale.

to the Swiss Mennonites[39]; but Horsch did not know that it was first Hans Reist who prayed in this way (about 1700), inserting a new phrase into the model of 1664, which already had the prayer petition for all goodhearted people lacking strength to give themselves to complete obedience to God. John Horsch found that these "goodhearted and loyal people" are six times mentioned in the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht,* thus demonstrating the high gratitude of the brethren toward these helpers in times of persecution and distress.

(4) *Ein ander schön Gebet,* a prayer very similar to the preceding one and repeating several parts of it (including that concerning the Half-Anabaptists), but containing also new elements taken from earlier versions which had been omitted in it. For instance, we find here the petition against division and separation found in the Reist *Gebätt* but omitted in the *Send-Brieff* prayer. Accordingly we may say that all these prayers were composed and recast by anonymous brethren in many variations of certain standard elements. This conclusion is an astonishing result of the present study when we consider the nature and essence of prayer. Apparently the need for edification was greater than the gift of inspiration to create fresh prayers.

With regard to this prayer another interesting finding must be mentioned. The Goshen College Library possesses the first edition of the oldest Anabaptist hymnal, the *Ausbund* of 1564 which was discovered by Harold S. Bender and acquired from a second-hand bookdealer in Pennsylvania. In his description of the volume[40] Bender suggests that it may derive from an early Mennonite settler, and that it was bound together with other prints, probably in Europe, about 1720. But strangely, he does not mention that there are at the end of the book four more sheets (some sheets seem to have been lost) containing the greater part of a *Schön geistreiches Gebätt* which is verbatim identical with the above prayer (4). Yet with regard to the caption it represents a new version. And its spelling, typography, and the absence of pagination, give it a very old-fashioned appearance as if dating back to the seventeenth century. However, since it contains also parts of Reist's *Gebätt,* the petition against disunion and the other petition for goodhearted people, it

39 *Menn. Quart. Rev.* XIV, 1940, p. 57 f. (see note 27 above).

40 *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* III, 1929, pp. 147-150.

must nevertheless be of somewhat later origin, thus representing a very odd type of Anabaptist prayer pamphlet.

(5-20) Sixteen short prayers *In vielen Anliegen zu sprechen,* among which are one prayer on behalf of enemies, and one against the godless archenemies, one for the loyal hearted people (the Half-Anabaptists), one against division and separation, a further one for the authorities (yet without mentioning the title "king"), and so on. As a whole this group is nothing but an expansion of the great prayers (3) and (4), amplifying the single paragraphs only, without adding new thoughts.

(21-23) *Gebet um die Reinigkeit des Herzens, Gebet um die Nachfolge Christi,* and *Gebet um das Reich Christi.* These three prayers are lifted from the *Send-Brieff* (Nos. 13-15) but derive originally from the *Paradiesgärtlein* of Johannes Arndt and are verbatim reprints. They are unusually beautiful prayers, selected with a fine intuition. The brethren seem not to have noticed any difference between their own and foreign prayers.

(24-32) several fine prayers of different origin. One of them, the long *Schönes Gebätt,* is very similar to the above discussed numbers (3) and (4), and seems to be a new combination of the before discussed standard elements. It develops a certain eschatological tone by praying for comfort and help in these dangerous "last times."

There are also some biblical prayers. One is composed of quotations from Paul's epistles; another one is the prayer of King Manasseh, taken from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, quite popular among the Anabaptists; a third is the prayer from chapter nine of the Book of Daniel. The sum of the entire compilation is finally presented in a "Reminder of several points which we rightly ought to sigh and pray for to God" (*darum wir billig zu Gott seufzen und beten sollen*).

It is one of the most astonishing findings in the present research that at least five of these last described nine prayers are lifted verbatim from the representative prayer book of Caspar Schwenckfeld, the sixteenth century opponent of the Anabaptists and originator of the Schwenckfelder church. This fact seems truly an irony of history. In Schwenckfeld's lifetime (1490-1561), a passionate controversy was carried on with the Anabaptists which prompted one of their outstanding leaders, Pilgrim Marpeck, to write an extensive

refutation (1542) against Schwenckfeld. Now, two centuries later, Swiss Anabaptist-Mennonites use the prayer book of this one time adversary as a source of edification, to be sure without knowing this fact, since at that time the book was published anonymously. The main point, however, is this: there is hardly one devotional book of the eighteenth century more pietistic than this prayer book of 1539 which, if its origin had remained undisclosed, would certainly be classified as a typical eighteenth century product, again a proof for the opinion that Schwenckfeld was rightly called "Pietist before Pietism."[41] And it was apparently this quality of emotionalism which now appealed so much to the Swiss Brethren in the Palatinate that they gladly borrowed some of the new prayers.

The prayer book under discussion is the *Deutsches Passional,* first published by Schwenckfeld in 1539. A very thorough treatment of its history, character, and sources may be found in the introduction to its recent new edition in Volume VI of the *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum.*[42] Also Paul Althaus' fine study, *Zur Charakteristik der evangelischen Gebetsliteratur im Reformationsjahrhundert*[43] deals at length with this remarkable devotional book. According to these references, "this book became one of the most popular and most widely circulated of all of Schwenckfeld's publications. Indeed, it came into universal popularity.[44] We know of four editions in Schwenckfeld's lifetime and five later editions from 1575 to 1705; from 1580 onward the title page does not name any author.[45] Althaus could prove that Schwenckfeld himself used extensively for this book older models which he recast, such as the *Meditationes Augustini* or the *Precationes aliquot novae* by Erasmus (1535). Althaus comments on this fact in a way which has also significance for our present study. He says (p. 19): "In using these older sources, Schwenckfeld opened a way which later on was generally trodden in the Protestant prayer literature (viz. this borrowing and paraphrasing of old prayers) and this fact is of

41 Cf. Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Pietism," in *Menn. Quart. Rev.* XIV, 1940, pp. 92, 110.

42 *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum,* Vol. VI. Edited by Elmer E. S. Johnson, Leipzig, 1922, p. 647 ff.

43 Paul Althaus Sr., *Zur Charakteristik der evangelischen Gebetsliteratur im Reformationsjahrhundert,* 1914, second ed. 1929, p. 16f. This study was also used in my article "Anabaptism and Pietism," *op. cit.,* p. 106.

44 *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum,* Vol. VI, p. 655.

45 Goshen College Library has a complete copy of 1580, coming from an old Mennonite home in Pennsylvania.

greatest significance for an understanding of the development of Protestant prayer books.[46] The *Deutsches Passional* consists of two different parts, the prayers concerned with the passion of Christ, and a set of prayers under the heading, *Etliche gar schöne und tröstliche Gebete, dem Menschen sehr nützlich, um mancherlei Anliegen in dieser letzten und gefährlichen Zeit.* We immediately recognize here the similarity to headings in our Mennonite texts. Among the prayers of this section we find the following items: *Gebet zum Heiligen Geist um Hilfe, Trost und Beistand* (*Corp. Schw.* Vol. VI, p. 742 f.), *Gebet um treue Arbeiter in der Ernte des Herrn* (p. 744f.), *ein Gebet aus S. Pauli Epistel gezogen um Erleichterung des Herzens* (p. 745), *Gebet um Einigkeit des Sinnes und Verstandes in göttlichen Sachen* (p. 747), and *Eine Erinnerung etlicher Stücke, darum wir billig zu Gott seufzen und beten sollen* (p. 748). All these prayers are lifted verbatim into the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht,* an adoption in the same manner as was described by Althaus regarding Schwenckfeld and the rest of the Protestant devotional literature. On reading all the other prayers in our new source, it appears rather likely that still other prayers of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* go back to the same source, but our present investigation was concluded at this very point.

So much then for the description of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* and its sources. American editions later added nearly all the remaining prayers of the *Formulier* of 1664 which had not been adopted in the European editions, and one more prayer, the *Gebet eines traurigen Menschen* of unknown origin, thus increasing the number of the prayers to fifty. More recent editions have increased the number to fifty-three, adopting one more prayer from Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* (*Gebet frommer Eltern für ihre Kinder*) and other prayer books.

The *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* is the first completely furnished and self-contained German prayer book for Mennonites. It is a prayer book in the proper sense, intended for private devotion and edification, and is in no way a formulary for ecclesiastical purposes such as, for instance, the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. The five prayers for the ordinances adopted in the *Send-Brieff* of 1720 are absent in this book. On the other hand, the expression *In vielen*

[46] We know that even Johannes Arndt did not hesitate to adopt different foreign tracts in his *Wahres Christentum;* for instance book II-34 is borrowed from a then unpublished manuscript of Valentin Weigel, without mentioning this source.

Anliegen und Nöthen zu gebrauchen, first applied in the *Send-Brieff* to the prayer forms of Dutch origin, is now much more properly used, since many new prayers or prayer paraphrases deal with these inner concerns. Accordingly we have here a genuinely new book in spite of the use of earlier material, a book nearer to all the concerns of the inner life than any one of the aforementioned books. It is the best collection of all, even though we have become conscious of the intricate way in which it was put together, piece by piece. From the Dutch standard collection of 1664 (respectively 1625) it takes only a small section, pursuing its intention in new arrangements. In its focussing on inner needs it approaches to a certain extent the De Ries collection of 1610 which also was concerned with anxieties, tribulations, and all those situations where prayers are sincerely in order. With the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* the turn to the pietistic pattern of Christianity among the Palatinate Mennonites is completed, both in the good sense of a living devotion as well as in the historical sense of the weakening of the substantial religious essence of the *Ausbund* or of Menno Simons. It was, at least partly, the spirit of Johannes Arndt and Caspar Schwenckfeld which prevailed over Menno Simons and the early Swiss leaders.

The *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* was not the last prayer book of Swiss Mennonites in the eighteenth century. New combinations emerged in the following decades to meet the ever growing need for such literature. There is, for instance, a small devotional book of the end of the century, intended to be a real pocket-book, "Vademecum" or companion, bearing the title, *Kleines Handbüchlein, darinnen Morgen- und Abendgebetter. . . enthalten sind.* According to the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*[47] it was first published in 1786, presumably somewhere in the Palatinate. Here is the list of the European editions as far as they have become known:

1. 1786 Palatinate (?) (*Menn. Lex.* II, 246)
2. 1801 Basel, Von Mechel (Scottdale, Pa.)
3. 1816 Römhild, Thuringia (*Menn. Lex. II,* 246)
4. 1837 Basel, Von Mechel (Goshen C.L.)
5. 1867 Biel, Switzerland (Wolkan, *Lieder,* p. 161)

American reprints occurred twice, in 1835 and 1872 (Bender, *op. cit.,* pp. 15 and 37).

This book contains, as nearly every book of this kind does, a num-

[47] See article "Kleines Handbüchlein" by Neff in *Menn. Lex.,* II, 246.

ber of hymns[48]. One of them (*Es ist eine wunderschöne Gab*) is by Hans Reist and was found at the end of his *Gebätt.*

The *Kleines Handbüchlein* represents a new combination of twelve prayers. Eight of them are again taken from the *Formulier* of 1664, including the five prayers for the ordinances, a morning and an evening prayer, and one to be spoken before a sick or dying person. There are four new prayers; the *Gebet eines traurigen und betrübten Menschen* which later was adopted in all enlarged American editions of the *Christenpflicht;* a "general prayer" which in its introductory phrase turns to Christ instead of to the Father (*"Der Du, o Herr Jesu, uns so teuer erkaufet und erlöset hast. . ."*), a form completely unknown among Mennonites and thus clearly of foreign origin; and two prayers in rhymes, one "In the agony of death," and the other containing "sighs in times or hours of dying," both typical products of Pietism with its prevailing sentimentalism, again undoubtedly taken from a prayer book of one of the established churches. As a whole, one is surprised to find in such a pocket companion for every day the five ceremonial prayers (baptism, Lord's Supper, communion of the bread, of the cup, marriage), yet not the long "general" prayer discussed above which appealed so much to private needs. Thus the book does not continue the line of the *Christenpflicht* but goes back to its predecessors (*Formulier, Güldene Aepffel, Send-Brieff*), mixing parts of them with contemporaneous edificatory products, a new proof of the transitional character of the inner life among the Mennonite congregations. This book, published in small size, seems to have been the general pocket prayer book of the church until it was superseded by completely non-Mennonite devotional books which suited the taste and need of the new time still better.

Here the story of Mennonite prayers is at its end. The effort necessary to ascertain the successive stages in the inner process of shaping the pattern of piety seems to have been worth while, since prayers reveal more than any other religious literature the attitude and frame of mind of the church through the ages. As we now try to define the essential outcome of the previous findings, it might be useful to give first a graphic presentation of the basic data by means of a chart. (See chart I).

[48] Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* p. 161.

Additional Notes to the Chronological Chart of Mennonite Prayer Collections 1610-1786

(Chart I below, pp. 202, 203)

(1) The 1727 edition of the *Christliches Gemüthsgespräch* by Gerhard Roosen, the only early edition known in America, has an appendix with twenty-eight prayers, different from the series discussed above. It is not clear whether Roosen himself composed them, as he did the Confession; in the chart, however, this item is omitted as not belonging to the continuing line. The South German or Swiss brethren never used the Roosen collection.

(2) The single prayer, bound with the old copy of the *Ausbund* (1564), identical with one prayer in the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht,* is not listed here because of the paucity of the evidence. It must be placed in time somewhere near the Reist *Gebätt.* It may represent a part of an early printed prayer pamphlet.

(3) The first European and American editions of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* contain only three prayers of the *Formulier,* among them the prayer II in a new paraphrase; then the prayer mentioned in note (2); three prayers out of Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* (1612) as in the *Send-Brieff,* and new prayers "in vielen Anliegen und Nöthen." Later editions added all the prayers of the *Formulier* of 1664.

(4) The first American print of the formulary *Etliche christliche Gebeter* occurred in the *Güldene Aepffel,* 1745, the second as an appendix to G. Roosen's *Gemüthsgespräch* edition of 1790 (Bender, *op. cit.* p. 7) and continuing as such through all later editions. It was taken from the *Güldene Aepffel* and has, like this edition, nineteen prayers.

(5) The English version of the Van Sittert manual, editions since 1727, has no prayer section. The prayers have never been translated.

(6) The chart does not show the Prussian catechism of 1778 (later known as the *Waldeckischer Katechismus*), reprinted in the United States first in 1824, which contains fourteen prayers, chiefly for children, thoroughly different from the listed collections. Its educational influence was apparently extraordinary.

This chart shows clearly the connection of all these books through the centuries and the molding influence of a changing world on a heritage which was held conservatively in times of distress as well as in times of peaceful development. But even if the forms as such remained unaltered, the meaning and sense of the literary product underwent perceptible changes. In order to get a certain insight into these transmutations of the Mennonite heritage in the different branches of the Mennonite Church, a second chart is presented which displays the distribution of the different topics of prayer in the various books.

CHART I

Country	Holland					Prussia
Author	Hans de Ries (1553-1638)			Francois de Knuyt	Leonhard Klock (Clock)	?
Group	Waterlanders (introduced loud prayer)			Flemish; silent prayer	High German; loud prayer	*Confession o. kurzes u. einfältiges Glaubensbekenntn. der . . . verein. Taufgesinnten*
Title of Book	(Lubbert Gerrits) *Corte Belijdenisse de. Geloofs*	*Gesangh-Boeck*	(Jan Gerrits) *Vijf stichtelijke Predicatien*	*Corte Bekentenisse onses Geloofs*	*Forma eenigher christelijker Ghebeden.*	
Year	1610, [2]1618	1643	1650	1618	1625	1660
Place	Alkmaar ([2]Hoorn)	Hoorn	Amsterdam	?	?	(Elbing ?)
Number of pr.	11	several	14 (11 of 1610)	several	18	13
American Edition	McGlothlin, *Bapt. Confes.* (1911), p. 26f yet no prayers					1878, Elkhart, Ind. (Bender, p. 96)
Mennonitische Lexikon	article by Neff, I/159 & II/283		article by Neff, I/663 & II/83 f	II/515	I/365	article by Neff, I/159 & II/470
Catalogus	p. 169	p. 268	p. 240	p. 170		
References	G. Maatschoen, *Aanhangzel of derde Deel van de Gesch. d. Menn.* (Schyn) 1745, p. 76.	Knipscheer, *Doopsgezin. Bijdragen* XXXVII, 1897 p. 110	Maatschoen, *op. cit.* p. 75-76	Knipscheer, *op. cit.*, p. 106-109 many editions	No literature & no reference as to location of copies	Union confession after a Dutch original
Notes	Many editions appendix with prayers The archetype of Mennonite prayer collections	This edition appeared after the death of De Ries The hymnbook of 1624, amplified by *Eenighe aendachtige Gebeden*	Appendix with *Aandachtige Ghebeden* *German translation* in 1800 (Prussia) used also in Russia as a formulary, without the prayers	Appendix with prayers and *Instructions on the pious practice of the prayers*	German translaton in the two following handbooks Standard formulary of the Mennonites	Contains the *Formulier etlicher christlicher Gebätte* (the important prayers II & III are absent) Many reprints also in Russia Standard for Eastern German Mennonites

CHART I (Continued)

Holland	Switzerland and Palatinate				
Tieleman Tielen van Sittert	Hans Reist (Switzerland)	?	?	?	?
Christliche Glaubensbekenntnus der waffenlosen Christen	*Das Gebätt*	*Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen*	*Ein Send-Brieff/ samt einem schönen Gebätt*	*Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht*	*Kleines Handbüchlein darinnen Morgen-und Abendgebätter*
1664	(about 1700)	1702, 21742	(about 1720)	1739	1786 or earlier
Amsterdam	(Basel ?)	(Basel ?)	(Basel ?)	Kayserslautern	?
18	1	19	16	36 (later 50)	12
1790, Germantown Pa. (Bender, p. 7)		1745, Ephrata, Pa. (Bender, p. 2)		1747, Ephrata, Pa. (Bender, p. 3)	1835, Osnaburg, Ohio. (Bender, p. 15)
article by Neff, I/ 159; I/469; I/663		article by Neff, II/ 197-198		article by Neff, I/ 608	article by Neff, II/ 246
p. 172				p. 233	
Dordrecht Confession of 1632	Wolkan, *Lieder d. Wiedertäufer* (1903) p. 162	Part VI: *Etliche Christliche Gebethe*	Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedert.* p. 155	Catalogue of Scottdale Menn. Hist. Libr. p. 63	Wolkan, *op. cit.* p. 161-164
Contains the *Formulier etlicher Christlicher Gebätte* (has prayers II & III) Many reprints Standard for Southwest German Mennontes	In Goshen & Scottdale M. Historical Libraries Contains elements of prayer II of *Formulier* in paraphrase	Preface explains intention to help those unskilled in prayer The same collection as in the *Formulier* plus one more prayer most influential	In Goshen & Scottdale M. Historical Libraries A new paraphrase of prayer II; 12 prayers of the *Formulier* three prayers from Arndt's *Paradiegärtlein* (1612)	The first independent prayerbook of Mennonites Many reprints A new paraphrase of pr. II & III, also the 3 pr. by Arndt, 5 pr. by Schwenckfeld	Has eight prayers of the *Formulier* and four of foreign origin

CHART II

Topics	Hans de Ries 1610	Leonh. Klock 1625 (1664)	Prussian Manual 1660	Hans Reist (1700)	Gueld. Aepffel 1702	Send-Brieff (1720)	Ernsthafte Chr. Pfl. 1793	Kleines Hand Buechlein 1786	Pruss. Catechism 1778	Ernsth. Christenpflicht 19th C.
Prayers for the every day life (morning, evening, meals)	5	8	6	-	8	4	2	2	8	(6)
Prayers before and after the sermon	2	3	2	-	3	2	-	-	-	(2)
Prayers for the ordinances	-	5	4	-	5	5	-	5	-	(5)
Prayers in needs, temptation and anxiety	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	(6)
Prayers for and by the sick	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	(1)
General prayers	-	1	-	1	2	4	29	1	6	(30)
Total	11	18	13	1	19	16	36	12	14	(50)

Note: The nineteenth century editions of the **Ernsthafte Christenpflicht** took over from earlier collections all those prayers which had been omitted in the first compilation. Thus the book became comprehensive, but no longer expresses any special type of piety.

This graph reveals better than any other means can, a basic spiritual differentiation or even antithesis. It shows whether a writer or editor is interested more in giving comfort or help in situations of need, temptation and anxiety, or in giving primarily forms for ordinances and the everyday prayers. The first line of interest is represented by the De Ries collection and the *Christenpflicht* where prayers for the ordinances are completely lacking, the second line by Klock, the German-born hymn writer who presents at least thirteen items of this type. He is followed by nearly all later compilations (*Send-Brieff, Kleines Handbüchlein,* etc.), although their intentions changed to a great extent after 1625. This fact, however, does not come to its full expression in the above synopsis for two reasons: (a) because of the repeated recasting of prayers II and III of the Klock collection ("General prayer after sermon," and "Another general, devotional prayer") in Reist's *Gebätt,* in the *Send-Brieff* and in the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht;* and (b) because of inserting "general"

prayers from Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* into the *Send-Brieff,* and in turn from this, from Caspar Schwenckfeld *Deutsches Passional,* and other non-Mennonite sources into the *Christenpflicht.*

Yet there is still another indication as to the intention or meaning of our prayer collections, namely, the titles. Leonhard Klock's title, for instance, reads briefly and unpretentiously *Formulary of prayers, which the believer may use according to time and matters.*[49] The same collection, however, in the *Send-Brieff,* is called *Prayers in Various Concerns and Needs,* without noting that the title is quite unsuited to this compilation. But the Swiss brother who edited this book was longing for the type of devotional material indicated by the title, although he had nothing better at hand to use than the formal production of the well-established Dutch Mennonite Church. Not until the publication of the *Christenpflicht* was an attempt made to meet this need more adequately. In its subtitle, the *Christenpflicht* indicates this intention, *Gebäter, darmit sich fromme Christenherzen zu allen Zeiten und in allen Nöthen trösten können* (Prayers to offer comfort to pious Christians in all times and needs). And the much-discussed long general prayer II "after the sermon" is now called "a general prayer, to be used daily in many anxieties and needs," explained further in a number of smaller devotional forms. In this pattern it became the good companion of the Swiss Brethren in their distress, driven out of their Swiss homeland, oppressed in the Palatinate, and eventually compelled to migrate farther to the New World with all the hardships of the frontier. It helped them to maintain faithfully their heritage, even though it was filled with a different spirit of pietistic tinge. But it is well to keep in mind that there is still a noticeable difference between the *Christenpflicht* and a book like Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein,* with its far more extensive emotionalism and "joy of repentance" (*Buszfreudigkeit*).[50] The *Christenpflicht* has pietistic features, but as a whole it remains more sober and less exuberant than other prayer books of the time. The question is only whether the church as such was to continue this half-way adjustment to Pietism, or was eventually to succumb to the new trend altogether.

[49] In a very similar formalistic way, the prayer collection in the 1727 edition of G. Roosen's *Christliches Gemütsgespräch* (omitted in the present context) bears the short title, "Prayers to be used on various occasions." It is important to note that the expression "prayer book" never occurs in our Mennonite material.

[50] Only prayer XIX in the *Güldene Aepffel* ("Wie soll ich mich erkühnen, Dir zu nahen, der ich das Unrecht in mich saufe wie Wasser") fits into this mood.

We must also be alert to the differences between the development of the Dutch and Northern German Mennonites with their respectable urban life and settled status, and that of the poor and despised Mennonite peasants from Switzerland, who, in the uncertainty of their pilgrimage, trusted alone in God and the rock of His Divine Word. The Swiss Brethren did not need emotion as proof of their "salvation," but rather comfort and strengthening in their distress and temptation. And yet, even for the Swiss, it was no longer the pure spirit of old Anabaptism which moved them. Written prayers, composed and recast after Dutch models, or adopted from foreign devotional books, reveal the spiritual changes. *Gottseligkeit* and edification are now the terms under which the marvelous records of olden times are understood, as is indicated, for instance, by the subtitle of that other great devotional book, the *Güldene Aepffel*: "Beautiful and useful words and truths unto godliness."

THE OLD ORDER AMISH OF LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

A Review and Discussion of the Book by C. G. Bachman

John Umble

Calvin George Bachman's book, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County** is the first complete, sympathetic, and authoritative account of the Old Order Amish in America. The Reverend Bachman has been pastor of the St. Stephen Reformed Church at New Holland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, for more than a score of years. His personal acquaintance with many Old Order Amish enabled him to secure firsthand information not only of the external aspects of their culture, their restrictions and practices, but also of their modes of thinking, and their springs of action. His training in theology and sociology affords him a scientific viewpoint and method for conducting his investigation and for understanding and recording his observations. A score of good photographs, as well as a table of contents and a useful index, enhance the value of the work.

The author sets out to answer two questions: Who are the Amish? and, Where do the Amish come from? In the first part of the book, "Amish Origins,"† pages 1 to 59, he discusses, adequately for the purposes of his study, the "Anabaptists," the relation of "Menno Simons" to the Swiss Brethren, "The Meidung Controversy" (i.e., the "shunning" of excommunicated members), the disagreement between Hans Reist and Jacob Ammann in 1693 which led to "The Amish Division," and, finally, "The Amish in America."

In his treatment of the Anabaptists he avoids the fallacy of some earlier writers of deriving the Swiss Brethren movement from the Muenster heretics. But, one might ask, why devote space at all to the Muenster episode when it bore neither spiritual nor organic relation to the Swiss Brethren movement? The inclusion of this material may be defended in part, to be sure, on the score that the Muenster excesses threw the suspicion of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities on all non-state religious movements and gave an excuse for the

**The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County* by Calvin George Bachman, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, Vol. XLIX, Norristown, Pa. 1942, pp. 297.

†Throughout this article the reviewer encloses the author's chapter headings in quotation marks and embodies such titles in the body of the discussion.

persecution of the Swiss Brethren. On the other hand it is also true that civil and religious leaders knew they were not repelling chiliasm and overthrowing armed rebellion when they persecuted and killed the nonresistant Swiss Brethren. But the author is to be commended for avoiding the error of earlier historians who confounded the Swiss Brethren movement with the "Kingdom" of Jan of Leyden.

The author sketches clearly and with sufficient detail the emergence of Menno Simons as the leader of German Mennonitism, and the "Meidung Controversy," which began even in the time of Menno and finally led one hundred and fifty years later to the unfortunate break in the Swiss Mennonite groups on the practice of "avoidance" of excommunicated members. This break resulted in the Mennonite and Amish groups. Nothing new is presented, but the results of recent research are brought together and set forth in an interesting way.

The concluding section of the first part, entitled "The Amish in America," presents a brief, concise account of Amish immigration to America, its causes and extent and the present dissemination of the Old Order Amish in this country.

The principal part of the book, pages 61 to 294, describes in great detail the various phases of the social, religious, and economic life of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The book does this and nothing more; but this is much. The author pretends to no knowledge of the Old Order Amish in other parts of America.[1] He makes no comparisons between those in Lancaster County and those in the Middle West, but he presents a thorough, sympathetic study of his Amish neighbors and friends in the vicinity of New Holland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He has examined census reports to learn the number of the Amish, he has attended their services, he has visited in their homes and eaten their food, he knows and speaks their language and understands their mind, he has read recent books on Mennonite life and history, and is well informed on periodical literature regarding Mennonites and Amish.

The author finds three guiding principles among the Old Order Amish and throughout the book he refers to them frequently: (1) the Amishman's belief in the Bible literally interpreted and his conscientious attempt to regulate his life and conduct by its precepts;

[1] Page 83 furnishes an exception to this general rule. There the author points out that the Lancaster County Amish use mules and that this practice was forbidden by a resolution adopted by the Amish conference in Ohio in 1865. It was proscribed also by a meeting of Somerset County (Pa.) Amish ministers in 1837.

(2) a deep-seated conviction that soil and animal husbandry, and a rural atmosphere generally, furnish the only proper environment for the Christian life and walk; and (3) that the "old order," the rules and regulations handed down by the fathers, must be preserved without change. In the final analysis only point one is basic, points two and three being only specific applications of the first, point two prescribing the environment considered conducive to Christian living, and point three the rules for preserving and perpetuating Christian modes of conduct and congregational practice.

First of all then, as our author points out in the opening section of the main portion of the volume, the Amish are "A Rural People." They find abundant reasons in the Bible for preferring the country to the city. Look at Sodom and Gomorrah. Witness the example of the Rechabites. Hence the Amish help their young people to buy farms and when the pressure of population becomes too great they migrate. The author cites recent examples of such migration from Lancaster County to Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, and to St. Mary's County, Maryland. Various Amish prohibitions affecting the use of electricity, automobiles, tractors, and other modern conveniences, are calculated to prevent the urbanization or secularization of Amish social and religious life.

All three of the principles mentioned above operate to keep the Amishman rural in his occupation and outlook. First, there are scriptural reasons for preferring the country to the city. Second, here conditions prevail favorable to industry, thrift, co-operation, and the simple life. Finally, an unanswerable argument, this is the way the Amish forefathers have always lived.

In his chapter on "Amish Homes," our author shows how the three principles determine the furnishings and equipment. Nothing is found here which cannot be defended on the basis of utility or necessity, nothing purely for ornament, and nothing that involves the use of electrically driven modern conveniences. "A visit to an Amish home surprises one more by what is missing than by what is found there." The author does, however, speak of "what seems like a genuine Amish custom . . . the practice of having a beautiful, framed, and ornamental family record hanging on the wall."[2]

Amish farmers take literally the Lord's word to Adam, "In the

2 A halftone of one of these "Amish Family Records" facing page 76 must be an error on the part of the author. The name is not Amish and the words "Family Record" in English surely do not occur in many Amish homes.

sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," and they accept it not as a mere statement of fact, but regard rural occupations as the only field open to them. Farming forms the chief topic of conversation wherever Amishmen gather. Success in farming is the one sure way of achieving distinction in the community. But they scrupulously avoid the ownership of tractor-drawn or electrically-driven machinery, and rubber tires even on a wheel barrow are not allowed. The author thinks that these regulations are enforced because there would be less need of horses. Since, however, the Amish are permitted to hire an outsider to plow for them with a tractor, the purpose of the regulation seems to be rather to discourage the introduction of what is new and of what might tend to lead away from the old ways.

The chapter on "Amish Farmers" covers in a concise and yet detailed manner the farming practice of the Amish and their strenuous endeavor to resist change and to maintain the principles of their faith amid the growing complexity of their modern surroundings. The viewpoint of these Amish farmers is illustrated by their attachment to the soil, their refusal to sell milk on Sunday, the absence of a Lancaster County agricultural fair, their coldness toward co-operatives on account of the "unequal yoke," and their lack of enthusiasm with reference to government regulations concerning acreage and the reduction of farm crops.

The next chapter, "Amish Apparel," setting forth what Amish men, women, and children do and do not wear, covers in an equally interesting and comprehensive manner the prescribed modes of dress. The author's respect for the Amish scruples against being photographed makes necessary the omission of pictures showing Amish dress, but his description of their garb makes pictures unnecessary. His detailed discussion of the wearing of the beard illustrates the author's meticulous research, a feature of the book which strikes the reader again and again. On the wearing of the beard, for instance, he quotes from Leviticus, from C. Henry Smith, and from Hazard's *Register*. The "Demuth's Zaeche" (referred to on page 93), an article of dress worn by women, which he renders as "Demuth's Zeugniss," probably should be "Demuth's Zeichen," hence, sign of humility. The remark of the Amish minister, "I guess these things seem strange to you," followed by "So sehna mir die Sache, un so maena mir sedda mir du, (so we see things and so we think we ought to do) is typically Amish.

The chapter "Amish Means of Travel" affords the author abundant opportunity to point out the Amishman's difficulty in accommodating himself to the changes of modern transportation and the many nice distinctions which he works out to make sensible use of modern means of travel and at the same time retain the ancestral pattern of plain living. He cannot own or operate an automobile, but he can travel by train or by motor bus and can use the automobile even to go to a distant point to church on Sunday, if it is driven by a non-member of the Amish church, even by a member of his own family who has not yet united with the church or who has united with another denomination. The young unmarried Amishman drives a topless buggy and keeps off the rain with an umbrella or a rubber blanket. After his marriage he may own a kind of spring wagon with a top, but the wagon must conform to the traditional pattern in every detail—no dash, no whipsocket. Lights on a vehicle were frowned upon until a state law required them. The author thinks that when the automobile is adopted by the Amish, it will be only "after a terrific struggle" and then, "not because the Amish have relinquished part of the traditional principles of their faith, but because of the greater desire of the Amish church for the safety of their people, while traveling on the road."

Three grades of the ministry are recognized in the Amish "Church Organization": "der Volle Diener,"[3] "der Diener zum Buch," and "der Armen Diener." These are, respectively, the full or complete minister (bishop or elder), the minister to the Book, and the minister to the poor (deacon). The first is the presiding officer of the congregation with full authority to baptize and receive members, to perform the marriage ceremony, to excommunicate and reinstate a fellow member in consultation with the congregation, to conduct the communion service and to ordain bishops, ministers, and deacons.[4] The minister's chief duty is to preach and to assist the bishop. The deacon, in addition to administering the poor fund, has certain disciplinary duties under the direction of the bishop, and is the official charged with aiding the young men of the congregation in making a marriage proposal.

[3] The reviewer has never heard used the term, "der Volle Diener." "Der Völlige Diener" seems more common. The "Diener zum Buch" is called also "Diener zum Wort," minister of the Word.

[4] For the ordination charges see the reviewer's articles in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, especially, "Amish Ordination Charges," Vol. XIII (October, 1939), pp. 233-50, and "An Amish Minister's Manual," Vol. XV (April, 1941), pp. 95-117.

The author omits reference to one other official formerly known in Lancaster County—"der Völlige Arme Diener"—used to designate a deacon who at some time after his first ordination as deacon was given, by a later ordination, a bishop's authority to perform the rites of the church.[5]

Congregational organization is very simple consisting usually of a bishop, two or more ministers and a deacon and of the Amish members living within driving distance of the meeting. When the membership in a given area increases to the point where they cannot be accommodated in the house or barn for the bi-weekly church service the congregation decides, by vote, to divide. Usually a road running near the middle of the district becomes the dividing line.

The author points out that "there seems to be no central organization" of the congregations of Lancaster County and neighboring districts and that "each congregation seems to be a self-governing unit." Of late years, he says, the ministers of the different congregations have been in the habit of meeting before communion. He thinks, however, that this has been their practice since colonial days. He presents an English translation of the rules adopted by such a ministers' meeting in 1809 in which some Lancaster County Amish ministers are known to have participated.[6] He might have pointed out these articles differ little from later Amish conference reports (Somerset County, Pennsylvania, 1837: Holmes County, Ohio, 1865) and that these again are in substantial agreement with the earliest known conference resolutions of the Swiss Brethren (Strasburg 1568, 1607, and 1630);[7] also with those of the Amish conference at Essingen in 1779.

The chapter, "Services of Worship," bears convincing testimony to the author's accurate observation and to his ability to interpret and to record what he sees. The placing of the benches, the seating

[5] See the reviewer's articles in the above issues of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* footnote 4, and also "Amish Mennonites of Union County [Pennsylvania]," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review* VII, pp. 175, 180.

[6] In *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* see H. S. Bender's article, *Some Early American Amish Mennonite Discipline,* VIII (April, 1934), pp. 91-93.

[7] It is to these rules and regulations that the Amish refer when they use the expression "to stay by (or to hold to) the old rules and customs" or the ancient rules and regulations—"bei den alten Regeln und Sitten bleiben" or "die alten Regel und Ordnungen behalten." This tenacious adherence to the old rules and regulations has given an unyielding quality to the Amish character which enables them to maintain with a minimum of change their traditional patterns of life and thought. The resolutions passed by the 1568, 1607, and 1630 conferences were translated by H. S. Bender and printed in the first issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* I (January, 1927), pp. 57-66.

arrangements for old and young and for men and women (arrangements which still continue in some isolated cases among Pennsylvania Lutheran and Reformed congregations, also), the beginning of the three-hour-long service, the singing, the prayers, the sermon, the testimonies, the benediction with its genuflections, the meeting for disciplinary matters after service, the meal, and the afternoon of pleasant fellowship, all are described with sympathy and appreciation.

The Amish sermon is primarily a recital of incidents from the Bible, and an occasional reference to Menno Simons and Jacob Ammann, and their teachings, and also to the early martyrs with emphasis on the need of a spirit of devotion and loyality to the faith in a day when proving faithless is still a real danger. The sermon also applies the Scriptures to the problems of daily living.

The author omits any reference to the theology, or rather, the religious philosophy of the Old Order Amish; but the Scripture portions listed in the table of readings and hymns for the entire year (most of which are selected from the Gospels)[8] indicate that, as Dr. Friedmann has pointed out,[8a] the Old Order Amish are not Pietists. Further, they "know very little of the gnawing consciousness of being a corrupt sinner." So long as they are in good standing with the congregation there is a feeling of security, of calm composure, of faith that all is well on account of obedience to the will of God, as expressed in righteous living.

This general attitude is reflected in the Scripture portions chosen from the Epistles: the "new birth," Rom. 6 (read at the baptismal service); the Lord's Supper, I Cor. 5 and 10; the "freedom chapter," Gal. 5; the harvest Scripture, Rev. 14; the faith chapters, Heb. 11 and 12; and the resurrection chapters, I Thess. 5 and I Cor. 15. None of these would induce a morbid brooding over one's sinful state but rather a rejoicing in the blessed hope.

Optional chapters which may be read in case a month has five Sundays (which would mean an extra service for that month) or for other reasons reflect the same attitude. These are Rom. 5, beginning "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God," and the intensely practical chapters, James 2 and 3 ending "And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace."

[8] See the reviewer's article, "Amish Service Manuals," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XV (January, 1941), pp. 26-32.

[8a] See his articles "Anabaptism and Pietism" in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* XIV (April and July, 1940). pp. 90-128 and 149-69.

The young person being instructed prior to baptism is not taught to feel crushed under a load of sin, but to look forward to baptism and church membership as a haven of peace and security. It is the excommunicated member who is made to feel the awfulness of his state in being outside the fold. In his case only "Buss und Besserung," repentance and amendment, will save him from his hopeless state. The Old Order Amish are ready to suffer persecution and to endure being misunderstood by the world, but they feel a sense of well being in the consciousness of obedience to the will of God.

The reviewer has observed one custom in connection with the Amish service to which the author does not refer. In the Middle West the housewife in whose home the "meeting" is being held passes a large dish or dishpan filled with an assortment of cookies and crackers for the smaller children about ten o'clock. Boys at a certain age take pride in showing how grown up they are by refusing the offered cookies and may even make a gesture signifying, "Shame on you!" at others of their own age who help themselves from the dish.

The Anabaptist forefathers of the Amish held services in their homes because they were excluded from the churches, because they had no meetinghouses of their own and also because they were sometimes obliged to hold their services in secret. The Amish continue this practice because it was a custom of the fathers. They also recognize certain advantages in bringing the entire congregation into the home of a member. A mid-western Amish bishop once told the reviewer that this custom was a powerful aid in keeping down pride because no Amish woman would care to be considered proud or "putting on style" in furnishing her house. Since the greatest virtues are humility and keeping the old rules and regulations, and one of the greatest errors is being proud or introducing the new, she actually takes pride in the simplicity of her household and the absence of decoration. Having the meeting in her home gives her an opportunity to display its simplicity.

The section on "The Lord's Supper" opens with a discussion of the Fast Days and the preparatory service, the "Ordnungs Gemeinde," preliminary to the semi-annual Communion service, the day-long service known as "das Abendmahl" or "das Nachtmahl."[9]

[9] The reviewer, born in Union County, Pennsylvania, of Lancaster County Amish ancestry, always knew these services as "Artnings Gma" and "Gross Gma" (big meeting). The Mifflin County Amish also use these terms.

The Amish observe Good Friday as a fast day before the spring communion and St. Michael's Day before the autumn communion. With their characteristic aversion to change they follow the Old Style calendar celebrating St. Michael's Day on October 11 instead of September 29, the date observed by the remainder of the Christian world.

The purpose of the Ordnungs Gemeinde, held two weeks before communion, is to prepare the congregation to observe the communion as a spotless church. Hence, all faults must be confessed, differences between members adjusted, all sins punished and forgiven or the erring members excommunicated. Since the service is long, and much time may be consumed with disciplinary matters, the children are usually left at home on this day.

A period of fasting and prayer is observed on the morning of communion Sunday.[10] On this day the Sunday service begins earlier and lasts until four o'clock or after with an intermission at noon. During the forenoon the "Heils Predigt" or salvation sermon, reviews the Old Testament record beginning with Adam and continuing with the story of the patriarchs and the history of the Children of Israel. (This is known as "von den Alt-Vätern reden" or telling about the Patriarchs). After lunch the bishop narrates the story of the life of Christ, with special emphasis on the Lord's suffering and death, and times his discourse so that the communion may be observed at three o'clock.

After all the members have partaken of the bread and wine,[11] one of the ministers reads John 13 and then the members, in pairs by sexes, wash one another's feet. Following the observance of this ordinance each member makes his semi-annual free-will offering to the poor fund of the congregation which is kept by the deacon and dispersed by him in consultation with the bishop and other ministers.

With his usual thoroughness the author closes this section with a discussion of the meaning of Communion to the Amish. He finds that "The service has more than a memorial value to them." It is "also an experience of communion with the Lord." Then after quoting from the *Didache,* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,*

10 The reviewer's father never ate breakfast or lunch on that day, but his mother, subject to severe headaches if she missed a meal at the regular hour, invariably ate breakfast and took lunch to meeting for herself and the children.

11 The Old Order Amish use ordinary wheat bread, either home-baked or bakery, and the fermented juice of the grape. In the western congregations the ministers drink, after the service, whatever wine is left.

from the *Confession of Faith,* and from the *Ausbund,* he concludes: In the Greek of the second century—in the German of the sixteenth —whatever the century, in any tongue—the message remains . . . . "I am the living bread."

At a certain age young people are encouraged by the ministers to seek "Admission to the Church." Since the Amish have no Sunday schools or other means of formal religious instruction, the parents are expected to teach their children the German language so that they can give them the necessary teaching in the German Bible, the German *Martyr's Mirror* and other devotional books usually found in Amish homes. They also help sing the German songs. Since the language of the Amish family circle is Pennsylvania German, the task is not so difficult as one might imagine. When the reviewer was seven years old, his Amish grandmother presented him a German primer to encourage him to learn to read, write, and spell German.

The Amish seem to oppose Sunday schools because women and unordained men teach in them and because it would be difficult to keep a check on the scripturalness of the teaching in the same manner that it can be done in the church service. Their chief objection is that the New Testament makes no reference to dividing the congregation into classes for an instruction period, but all, including the children, met together for worship.

One finds an occasional German school among the Amish. Although there naturally is some religious instruction, the principal object of these schools is to teach the children to read and sing in German. As a rule these schools are not planned by the ministers, but are a volunteer project conducted by those willing to give the necessary time and labor. Much time is devoted to singing, not the hymns used in the services and not the "slow tunes." It is hoped, however, that singing "fast tunes" and other hymns will enable the children to take part in the regular Amish church services.

When young people wish to unite with the church, the ministers organize a class and meet with them for instruction in the Bible and in the practices and rules of the church. When the ministers consider them ready, they obtain the consent of the church to baptize them. Finally before baptism each applicant is given an opportunity to decide whether he wishes to "turn back," to receive further instruction, or to enter the church through baptism.

Baptism is administered by the bishop (Volle Diener), after a regular church service, the deacon (Armen Diener) pouring water

into the cupped hands of the former, as they rest on or above the head of the applicant. The Amish administer trinitarian baptism. Before baptism young men are expected to promise that they will accept the ministry if selected by the congregation and by lot. Young women at the time of marriage promise that they will accept the duties of the wife of a minister. In Lancaster County, the Amish church is increasing in membership and in number of congregations. The reviewer knows this to be true also in northern Indiana where the number of districts has more than doubled in recent years.

Letters of transfer from one congregation to another seem to be unknown among the Amish. Baptism seems to be the only method of uniting with the Amish church. Members who move to a new community automatically become members. The Amish do not issue letters or certificates of transfer to members who wish to unite with another denomination and do not receive members from other denominations.

"Church Discipline" among the Old Order Amish is strict. Excommunication and exclusion from communion are frequent. Offending members are admonished according to the instructions laid down in Matthew 18. If the offence is minor and the offender is willing to make a public confession and ask the congregation for forgiveness, the matter is dropped at once. If he becomes stubborn, he is first "set back" from communion. He can then be reinstated only by making a "complete" confession ("höchst"), that is, he must kneel before the congregation and be received almost as if he had been a fallen member. If, however, he does not repent and persists in resisting the church, he is excommunicated.

Because the congregation realizes the seriousness of excommunication, this extreme measure is taken only after all other means have failed to restore the erring brother. After he is excommunicated, no member can eat with him, transact business with him, or receive anything from him. This is to bring to him vividly his terrible condition. He is an outcast in this world, virtually dead, and, if he should die before he is reinstated, he would be an outcast also in the world to come.

The seriousness and inconvenience of excommunication is illustrated by an incident related by the author. A non-Amish father of an Amish girl's illegitimate child offered to marry the girl, but refused to change his church membership. The father rejected the man's offer of marriage. The father argued that if the girl married a man

who was not Amish, she could never be reinstated. Then, whenever she would come home, she could not eat at the same table with her parents. If she did not marry him, she could be reinstated after a time and then she would be a member of the family again. Rather than lose his daughter now and in the hereafter, he preferred that she should remain an unmarried mother.

If an excommunicated member becomes penitent and applies for reinstatement, the bishop takes the vote of the congregation. If the vote is practically unanimous, the penitent appears at a later meeting, kneels before the congregation, acknowledges his wrong, expresses regret, asks forgiveness, and promises amendment. The ceremony ends with the reading of Scriptures emphasizing the mercy of God and His rejoicing over the return of the erring one. The closing hymn repeats the same theme.

The Old Order Amish Church has few "Interests Beyond the Local Congregation." They do not proselyte, are not missionary, have no interest in evangelism. Since their entire life is rural, they have neither foreign missions nor home missions. The main and almost exclusive interest of the Amish church is to preserve its own organization. Contributions toward worthy causes are made through special offerings but not at stated times or regular intervals. The money is usually sent through Mennonite agencies. The reviewer knows that when Amish people do give to a worthy cause they do so generously. They give with caution but without stint. They accept the words of the apostle James: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

One of the longer chapters deals with "Amish Weddings," the most important social event in the life of the Old Order Amish. First, when a young couple decides to get married, the young man informs the "Armen Diener" who secretly goes to the girl's parents to learn if it is acceptable to them. If the parents consent and the ministers approve, the coming wedding is announced at the close of services, several weeks before the date of the wedding. Invitations are delivered in person as in Bible times (Matt. 22:3).

On the appointed day, usually a Tuesday or a Thursday in the fall of the year, the congregation meets at the home of the bride's parents as for a regular Sunday church service. The young couple are called before the ministers during the "Abrath" (counsel) meeting where questions are asked privately and counsel given. The main

sermon narrates the story of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca from the book of Genesis and the story of Raguel from the Book of Tobit. At a certain point in the narrative the wedding ceremony is performed by the "Volle Diener." Then the narrative is continued with special emphasis on Tobias and Sara's beginning their married life with prayer. The service then concludes in the usual way with testimonies, prayer, benediction, and a closing hymn.

Then follows, not the usual after-meeting lunch, but an elaborate meal, a real wedding feast. After the wedding dinner, the tables are set again immediately and the guests may eat at any time. They are set again for the evening meal and festivities continue into the small hours of the morning.

The author continues with several pages of additional information on the wedding trip, the dress of the bride, the absence of decorations, and special rules governing marriage among the Amish. He notes particularly the small amount of family discord and the absence of divorce. The Amish explain this by pointing to the great care exercised in arranging for the wedding and the teaching in regard to the duties of the married state.

The desire of the Amish to cling to the ways of their ancestors surrounds "Amish Funerals" with many customs which appear strange to the author. Crepe and flowers are absent. The coffin is of plain unvarnished wood without handles. The dead are dressed in white. The Amish have always been opposed to embalming but follow Paul's advice of being "subject to the higher powers" by conforming to the law compelling this newer method of preservation.

The funeral service is the same as for a regular Sunday service except that there is no singing. After the service the body is placed in a separate room downstairs, the tables brought in and a considerably more elaborate meal served than following a Sunday service. A plain horse-drawn covered wagon bears the body to the graveyard. Only a wooden "rough box" is allowed in the grave. Dust must return to dust. When the grave is nearly filled with earth by the pall bearers one of the ministers reads a hymn and all repeat the Lord's Prayer in silence.

Among the Lancaster County Old Order Amish an outsider must be the undertaker because it would be considered improper for one of their number to enter that profession, especially since a long course of advanced study would be necessary. This is in sharp contrast to the earlier practice which prescribed that members of the

brotherhood should "lay out" the corpse, that is bathe the body and prepare it for burial. Some member of the congregation, a cabinet maker or carpenter, usually made the coffin of walnut boards and transported the body to the graveyard in his covered spring wagon.

Because the problem of separation is involved, an Amish minister would probably officiate only at funerals among the brotherhood. The conference rules of 1809, gave permission to admonish at funerals of the brotherhood but not outside.[12] The reviewer knows by hearsay of one instance in Champaign County, Ohio, about 1850, of an Amish minister's being severely criticized because he preached a funeral sermon for a Catholic child. Ultimately, he left the church and united with the Dunkards in Logan County.

Like Amish homes "Amish Cemeteries" are distinguished from others largely by the absence of many things usually found there. Here are no elaborate tombstones, no epitaphs, no flowers, wreaths or plants of any kind. No tombstones are erected in advance of death. The undertaker's mark is missing. The grave markers are very simple, one at the head and one at the foot. The headstone contains only the name of the one for whom the stone is erected and the relationship to others in case of wife or child. The date of death follows and the age at death. In a few cases the date of birth is included, but this is rare.

Most of the cemeteries were originally family burying grounds and lie a considerable distance off the main road back at the end of a long lane. The board fence surrounding the cemetery is not only to keep out livestock, but also to enclose the little flock of sheep which keep down the grass in the cemetery. Some Amish cemeteries even have a somewhat neglected appearance; others receive better care, even clipping with a lawn mower, the children cutting the grass around the tombstones with grass shears. In some congregations the men of the church set aside one day a year and have a "frolic" to take care of the cemetery. This word is used to designate any get-together for doing a certain task such as raising a barn.

The reviewer, intending to visit an Old Order Amish Cemetery in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, north of New Wilmington, had great difficulty in finding it. In fact he drove past the entrance to the cemetery three or four times even after its location had been pointed out to him. On entering the cemetery he was greeted by a most un-

[12] See "The Discipline of 1809," translated by Harold S. Bender, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VIII (April, 1934), p. 92.

usual sight. Nearly all of the markers were made of native sand stone or shale dug up in the process of digging the graves. A considerable pile of these slab-like stones of irregular shape lay on a pile on one side of the cemetery. Evidently the relatives of anyone buried in the cemetery select one of these stones and with a cold chisel make the necessary inscriptions. These inscriptions in a large number of cases consist only of the initials of the deceased and the date of his death. The effect on anyone accustomed to the average modern cemetery is almost uncanny.

In the section on the "Amish and Education" the author has little to say except that Amish are now and always have been opposed to higher education. He thinks that their belief in immediate inspiration implies a certain disregard for human learning.[13] Ministers, including bishops, are selected by lot, and whoever is chosen assumes the duties of the office immediately and without further training. This naturally does not encourage education, the only educational requirement for a minister being that he should be able to read and write. Although early Anabaptist leaders were educated they believed that no course of training was necessary to be called to preach the gospel. Some knowledge of the Bible and being under the influence of the Spirit of God were sufficient.

The Amish, although they are eager that their children should receive an elementary education, send them to school only because the law requires it. The Amish desire their boys to become farmers and the girls to spend their lives in doing housework. For this work they do not feel a need for education.

The Amish are opposed to consolidated schools because they feel that the children are more likely to form associations that will lead them away from the farm and from their people than they would in a small one-room school house. The Lancaster County Amish did everything in their power to prevent the erection of a consolidated school in a certain township, even appearing in the governor's office and conferring with state and federal officials. It is true that many of the Amish looked with disfavor on the work of those who actively opposed the erection of the new school because they felt it to be the

[13] The reviewer has heard an Old Order Amish minister, as well as several Old Order Mennonite ministers, reveal this attitude in a sermon. On one occasion an Old Order Mennonite minister said after reading a verse of Scripture and hesitating for some time, "One might say considerable on that text if it were given to him, but nothing is given to me," and then proceeded to the next verse. Amish ministers frequently mention at the close of a sermon that they have spoken in "great weakness." They are merely the instrument of the Spirit for proclaiming the Word.

duty of the Christian to be obedient, not to attempt even in an indirect way to influence governmental action.

In 1937 they printed a small four-page leaflet addressed "To Our Men in Authority" in which they expressed the opinion that if they sent their children to school until they were grown, that is, the age when they usually unite with the church, it would "get them to be devoted to the worldly things and undermine their churches." They petitioned the authorities to exempt the children when they finish the lower grades regardless of age. The petition closed with a thinly veiled threat to withdraw from the common public schools if their request was not granted.[14] The author thinks that so long as the Amish are "able to remain an exclusive group as they are at present, it is not likely that their attitude toward education will be allowed to undergo much change."

The relation between "The Amish and the State" remains practically the same as at the beginning of the founding of the Swiss Brethren movement in 1525. The articles of Schleitheim of 1527 recognize that governments are instituted of God to punish the wicked in this world, but the Christian has no part "because the rulings of government are according to the flesh." The state should not interfere with the church and the true church does not participate in matters of the state.

Part of the objection to the consolidated school mentioned above arose from the proposed use of government funds in the construction of the building. The Amish also refuse to accept money from the federal government for the reduction of acreage of certain crops. They pay their taxes willingly, however, because this is in obedience to the command, "Render unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's."

Some of the Amish vote, but not nearly all. In elections for school

[14] In this connection one should mention also an eight-page pamphlet submitted "To the Members of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," by Eli M. Shirk of Rural Route 2, Ephrata, Pennsylvania. The pamphlet contains two letters written to Eli Shirk by Walter M. Kollmorgen and by O. E. Baker, senior member, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Rural Welfare, Washington, D. C. Both letters encourage the Amish to continue their farm practice and their emphasis on family life. The following quotations show the general spirit of the letters: From Kollmorgen—"It seems that there are at least two basic objectives which educators must meet before they insist on imposing their program on all rural groups, namely: (1) maintain an adequate birth rate to perpetuate themselves and (2) devise an educational program that does not destroy the bond between the farmer and his land. The point is educated people die out and urban people also die out." And from Baker, "I agree with you that the modern city high school is a dangerous place to send a child to whom you look to preserve the family and the race and the values of rural culture." And again "when the Amish and Mennonites [lose] their religion, they [will] lose their farms."

directors and on the question of erecting a new school building some Amish men voted in opposition to the project and to candidates known to favor consolidation. Holding an office is not encouraged, and serving on juries is distasteful to the Amish. The discipline of 1809 expressly forbids serving on the jury. If they are summoned, they are usually not called on cases. Some Amish refuse to take part in elections because they feel that this might subject them to call for jury service.

The Amish refuse to swear an oath. In 1742 they protested to the authorities that the law providing for an oath of allegiance made it impossible for them to be naturalized. The Amish do not object to the flag salute and the pledge of loyalty. From the beginning they have held to the doctrine of nonresistance. Very few of them were called into service in World War I. Most of them were exempted because they were farmers. Since the beginning of conscription in 1940 a number of young men of the Amish faith have gone to Civilian Public Service Camps. In general the Amish wish only to continue the early Anabaptist attitude toward the state.

The Amish pay little or no attention to "Special Days" observed in a patriotic sense, such as Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, or to other special days such as Mother's Day, Father's Day, Children's Day, but they celebrate the great festive days of the church year, Christmas, Easter, Whit Sunday, Good Friday, and Ascension Day. Thanksgiving Day coming in the fall of the year and on Thursday is a regular date for weddings. They have no special observance for the Christmas season. They continue what was formerly a general custom, the observance of a second Christmas Day, and Easter Monday and Whit Monday. The regular festival falls on a church Sunday and the following day is spent in visiting relatives. The author points out that "non-Amish people are able to gain a fair conception of the lives of their forefathers by examining Amish practice of today" because Amish practice continues the general custom of centuries ago. As already mentioned under the chapter on "The Communion Service," the Amish observe two annual fast days—Good Friday and St. Michael's Day, the latter on October 11.

It is true, to be sure, that every alternate Sunday is of the nature of a holiday for the Amish. Having religious services only every other Sunday they spend the intervening Sunday in visiting relatives in the community or even in another county. Horse and buggy travel

sometimes makes it necessary to travel on the day before or the day after Sunday. In regard to the observance of special days by the Amish, the author calls attention to the fact that "the evidences of their allegiance to the state" are confined to what is compulsory. Their heavenly citizenship is the essential relationship. The other principle is illustrated in the frequent mention of home. On a Sunday or a special day, if they are not worshiping in a home they are visiting with friends in their own home or in the homes of others of their people.

"Music Among the Amish" makes no place for instrumental music of any kind, but singing occupies a prominent place in their religious and social life. It is not unheard of for Amish boys to become proficient in playing the accordion and harmonica, but it is not approved by their elders. Amish homes have no radios or phonographs, and attendance at public musical programs is disapproved. Singing in the church service is in the German language in unison. Each congregation has a number of "Vorsänger" or song leaders, who always are men. The singing is so slow that as much time is consumed in singing one line as one would expect in an entire stanza. The hymn book used exclusively is the *Ausbund,* a collection of hymns which date back in part to Reformation times. Some are stories of martyrdoms; others deal with Christian doctrine. It is probably the oldest hymn book in use by any Protestant church. The edition printed in Switzerland in 1564 seems to have been the first. Some of the tunes seem to have been tunes of popular folk songs of the day, while many of them seem to be plainsong tunes. In his footnotes to this chapter the author refers not only to the *Ausbund,* but also to the following books and articles: Harold S. Bender "The First Edition of the *Ausbund*" in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* III (April, 1929), 147; C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania,* page 339; J. W. Yoder, *Rosanna of the Amish,* page 111; Melvin Gingerich, *The Mennonites in Iowa,* page 273; John Umble, "The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn Tunes," in *Journal of American Folk Lore,* LII (January-March, 1939) page 94; Francis Burgess, *The Teaching and Accompaniment of Plainsong,"* Preface.

The reviewer has also found useful Ramaker's article in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* "Hymns and Hymn Writers among the Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century," III (April, 1929), pp.

93-131. The most recent and exhaustive treatment of Amish hymn tunes is J. W. Yoder's book, *Amische Lieder* (1942, pp. xii,[15] 114).

The singing at social gatherings is an entirely different type of music. The slow tunes used in the church services give way to what the Amish describe as "fast tunes." The young people usually sing hymns chosen from the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch,* but they also sing hymns from other song books, usually German. A German hymn may be sung to the tune of a familiar English hymn. The reviewer has heard a German hymn sung to the tune, "Maryland, My Maryland," and another hymn to the tune, "Sweet Beulah Land." They also occasionally sing a German or even an American popular ballad.

On account of the ordinances of the church, it is evident that the life of "Amish Youth" is restricted. They may take part in practically none of the amusements usually engaged in by the majority of young people. Attendance at a circus is not forbidden, if it includes a menagerie, because it is proper to go to see animals which God has created. Swimming in the creek would hardly be outlawed, but frequenting public swimming pools or ocean bathing at a seashore or resort would be classed among worldly things, with other popular amusements such as the theatre and motion picture. Few hobbies are among their leisure time activities, naturally, no music, photography, or dramatics, no membership in youth organization or Sunday-school classes.[16]

Practically the only social intercourse and enjoyment is afforded by the "singings." These are usually held on Sunday evening at the place where church services were conducted in the morning, because the house is cleared of furniture to some extent and the benches which were used in church services are available. The young people gather at some village or general meeting place on Sunday evening, sometimes as many as seventy-five Amish buggies gathering along the streets of a village or town. Eventually the teams move in the direction of the homes where singings are scheduled, often travelling at break-neck speed. The young Amish have good horses and are expert horsemen. Non-Amish are usually not welcome at these

[15] Yoder states in his Foreword: "It is quite clear from the facts of history that Amische Lieder have their origin in the Gregorian Chants which were assembled and given form in the sixth century by Pope Gregory."

[16] Some Amish boys are skillful in the use of carpenter tools and spend rainy days in their father's shop making plain but really beautiful articles of furniture. Some write a beautiful script.

singings. This may be made known in a number of unmistakable ways without the spoken word. There is some complaint of the rowdyism in these singings. The conversation outside may be of a low order and the presence of intoxicants has sometimes caused trouble.

While these meetings are called "singings," the name does not indicate the exact nature of the meeting. It is true that there is singing throughout the evening, but it is a meeting place for young people to become acquainted. The age group attending the singings is not definitely marked, but at a certain age young people "begin to go to singings." If one of the young women is not married on ap proaching thirty, the statement usually is that "she doesn't come to singings any more."

There are other social gatherings for the Amish, but weddings occur only in the autumn months. Public sales afford an opportunity for many young people to come together. The Amish boys are quite skillful in playing "corner ball."

Amish farm life really allows little leisure time. Both young men and young women work, the boys either at home or as hired men, and the girls are encouraged to "work out" as house maids. But working in non-Amish homes is not looked upon with favor.

The Amish boys are generally considered "pretty wild." Even the older Amish themselves feel that they have a problem here. The author seems to think that the martyr spirit of an earlier century is required to maintain a sixteenth century life in the twentieth. He feels that a sympathetic observer understanding the struggle which Amish youth faces is able to overlook a great deal.

No discussion of this kind would be complete without consideration of "Woman's Place Among the Amish." Since Amish life is rural and agricultural and since the Amish seek to govern their lives according to the pattern of the early church and the teachings of the apostles, woman among the Amish occupies a narrow sphere. The husband is the head of the house. Amish ministers quote I Corinthians 11 a great deal. It is probably no mere accident, but a custom deeply rooted in Amish philosophy, that the men occupy the front benches at church services.

To a certain extent the pattern of Amish life is set by their German heritage. Woman's interests are largely domestic. If a son asks his father's permission to marry, the father does not ask, Is she rich or poor? but, Is she industrious and acquainted with the duties

of a housewife? Woman's chief function is concerned with the bearing and rearing of children. Agricultural life makes children welcome and the arrival of a son or daughter in an Amish home gives great occasion for rejoicing. A future help on the farm or in the house has arrived.

Woman occupies an interesting place in the religious life of the Amish. Naturally, there are no Sunday-school classes and no missionary or ladies' aid meetings, but from the beginning of the Amish church woman has enjoyed equal rights in congregational meetings. She takes part in the discussion and joins in forming the decisions of the congregation. Women help to approve the admission of new members into the church and have an equal voice in matters of discipline. They also have the privilege of suggesting candidates for the ministry.

A career is out of the question for an Amish woman. The unmarried woman does house work or is a practical nurse. She is interested only in those activities associated with the care of the home. Women are not encouraged to vote at political elections. As pointed out in an earlier section, they have voted in school elections where the question to be decided involved the building of a consolidated school. Her narrow sphere gives her a life busy but uneventful. She enjoys going to a quilting or to the public sale of a neighbor Amish family. Her love for beauty and ornament cannot express itself in furniture or pictures, but there are usually decorations of some kind in the hymn book, the *Ausbund,* and she is skillful in embroidering pillow cases and towels. Because dishes are a necessary part of the household furnishings, she may have fancy dishes and display them in the corner cupboard.

One is not to take from the foregoing that the Amish woman's life is drab or is not a happy one. The author states that "A young Amish mother spoke not only for herself, but for most of her sisters, when she said: 'We have good times too and enjoy life, just like the rest of the people. Don't think that we don't.' "

The Old Order Amish solve the problem of the "Care of Dependent Children" in a unique manner. Here, as in every other phase of their life, the home circle is the agency that provides the solution. Since there are no divorces among the Amish, dependent children are orphans. Care for orphans was mentioned in the Strasburg Discipline of 1568 (mentioned above in footnote 7).

The Old Order Amish have no orphanages, in spite of the fact that other groups of Anabaptist origin are establishing such homes. A widow left with a number of children keeps on farming. If she cannot "make a go of it" she puts her children into an Amish home, usually the home of relatives or some other Amish family. In the case of the death of a mother, an unmarried relative is usually challenged to become housekeeper and care for the children. This an unmarried aunt sometimes does in a beautiful spirit of self-sacrifice.

Frequently second marriages solve the problem of the orphan child in a satisfactory manner. In such homes there is no partiality. The widowed father's children, the widowed mother's children, and the children of the second marriage all receive the same treatment. When a child is taken into a home the expression is often made that it only means "one more mouth to feed," and since children work at an early age and Amish consider their own help the best, there is no economic disadvantage on the farm in caring for a child. Since it is very displeasing to the Amish to have their own children leave their faith, the Amish prefer to have Amish children raised in their own homes, so as to bring them up in that faith.

The author makes an interesting comparison between the three principles agreed upon among social workers in the field of Child Welfare at the White House Conference of 1909, and the practice of the Amish in caring for dependent children. He states that although the Amish have never expressed their ideas on the subject, they have practiced these three principles as a matter of course. He states that dependent children in Amish homes receive the care described by these social workers as ideal in a foster home. He closes this section with the observation that other groups which formerly solved the problem of the dependent child as the Amish do today but have departed from the earlier methods by establishing orphanages, may actually find these institutions becoming a hindrance in carrying out the best methods as advocated by child welfare authorities.[17] On the other hand the Amish who still hold to "the old way" seem to be putting into practice more completely, although unconsciously, the fruits of the latest research in the field of child welfare.

[17] The orphanages established by these "other groups," the reviewer is informed, are for the care of orphans from other homes than those of their own membership and not a substitute for the home training of their own orphans, as the author seemes to think. In fact it is the usual practice to place these non-Amish or non-Mennonite orphans into Amish or Mennonite homes as soon as practicable so that they can grow up in normal home surroundings.

The author considers one of the outstanding achievements of the Old Order Amish to be their solution of the problem of making proper and adequate "Provision for Old Age." They support no old people's homes or homes for the aged, but in a very real sense every Amish homestead is an "old folk's home." The dwelling houses are large. Amish farmers retire on the farm and not from it.[18] In some instances when the old people wish to retire, they invite a married son or daughter to move on the farm and the old people move into a part of the house or build an addition to it. By remaining on the farm they solve many problems. Here they can keep a horse, and with the Amish a team is a necessity. The young people do not mind having the old people live in the same house yard. The grandfather helps with the chores, and the grandmother with the children. Many times when a childless or unmarried person retires, he retains a life-right in the property so that he may live there.

There is no state or federal old age assistance for aged Amish people. They would not consider it right to ask the state to help them. As one woman expressed it "We took care of our parents, and we expect our children to do the same for us when we are old." In provision for old age, as in many other of their problems, the solution is in the farm home. Everything is associated with the home. The worship service, baptism, the Lord's Supper, church discipline, weddings and funerals, all take place in the home.

The author points out that the care of the aged is a concern of all Anabaptist churches, some of whom in recent years have built "old people's homes." The Amish, however, do not patronize them. They feel that they would get away from "their people." Church services there would be English rather than German. They would learn to use electric lights. They might be tempted to hang pictures on the wall as the other inmates do.

The author points out two effects of the Amish method of caring for their aged. In the first place there is a great respect for old age.

18 The reviewer is indebted to Dr. Robert Friedmann, formerly of Austria, for the information that this is not merely an Amish custom, but that it is still the general practice among German peasants in the Tyrol and probably also among the Swiss and South German ancestors of the Amish. This practice of retiring on the land but retaining an interest or part-title in the property is known as "Ausgedinge" or "Altenteil." It is not an Amish, or even a Christian custom. Dr. S. C. Yoder, formerly of Kalona, Iowa, is familiar with it as "Altedale," the Pennsylvania German equivalent of "Altenteil." he preservation of the custom by the Old Order Amish in the exact form in which they brought it with them to America is another evidence of the tenacity with which they cling to the modes of life handed down by the fathers, even amid strange surroundings and after the lapse of centuries.

There are no disgraceful court scenes where young people are brought in to be reminded of their duty and are forced to care for their parents. In the second place, there is increased control of life by the aged. The statement is sometimes made that the Amish will have no automobiles so long as the old folks live. But when the older people pass away, younger people grow old and show no noticeable difference in their attitude toward innovations.

The Old Order Amish have a system for the "Relief of Poverty," but the number of their members who need such relief is small. Patterning their religious life after the apostolic church as they do, they recognize the duty to share and since they believe in the separation of church and state they do not accept state aid. Some early Anabaptists went to the extreme of having "all things in common," but the author quotes Hubmaier and Menno Simons to show that community of goods was not practiced by the early Swiss Brethren, the spiritual ancestors of the Amish. One finds no Old Order Amish in a county institution for the poor and none of them are on relief. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, requested the welfare authorities to send all Amish requests for aid to the "Volle Diener." This usually resulted in the early withdrawal of the application for relief.

The Amish do not carry life insurance, because they feel that "insuring ones self against death is an indication of a lack of trust in God." They think also that "since God is the one who gives as well as takes away life, death may at times be a punishment for sin. Bearing this in mind, they feel that insuring a life against death to lighten the burden . . . may seem like an effort to interfere with God's punishment through death." The "Armen Diener," handles all cases of need and is custodian of the funds, the "Armen Gelt." Although his accounts are not audited and no report of receipts or expenditures is made, the congregation is kept informed of what aid is given. This is done so quietly that the Amish literally observe the admonition not to "let thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Even a member being shunned receives aid if in need. The author thinks that probably the small place given to alms in the teachings of Jesus, and his encouragement of industry and thrift to prevent pauperism, is also the Amish emphasis. The Amish understand that financial assistance may be harmful. Their object in giving is actually to help the recipient.

The Amish feeling of responsibility for the welfare of all the members of their church is reflected in their system of "Mutual Aid." In this respect they follow the social ideals of the early Anabaptists, some of whom actually practiced community of goods, as stated above. Since the Amish have always lived in a compact community, individual families seldom move away from the group where they could not receive aid from, or render aid to, their own brethren. When the Amish move they move as a body to maintain their independence of non-Amish neighbors, or perhaps it would be correct to say, to retain their mutual dependence on each other.

Their willingness to aid a fellow member often manifests itself in large loans of money at low rates of interest on what would be considered entirely inadequate security by a bank. Thus a young man starting to farm is often financed by an older member. And when middle-aged farmers wish to buy additional land to make it possible for their sons to start farming, necessary finances are generally furnished by some of their own people who are willing to take risks for the sake of a brother in the faith. There are a few failures among the Amish, but not many. Even in this case when a member loses money, he considers that he has done a good deed by helping a fellow member to keep his family together by furnishing farm work for his boys.

In the case of illness of a member, it has frequently happened that members of the congregation will harvest a corn crop in a day or hang a year's tobacco yield in the shed. In case of loss by fire the members are always ready to donate their labor for clearing away debris and to help in erecting a new building. They attempt to carry out the Biblical injunction, "bear ye one another's burdens." Other groups assist each other in similar ways, but there is not the same degree of religious motivation as among the Amish.

Barn raisings furnish another opportunity for co-operation and mutual aid. The natives of Maryland observed that the Amish who had moved in shortly before, were constructing the side of a barn while it was lying flat on the ground. When they asked the Amish how they would raise the sides, their answer was, "There will be forty or fifty of us here to complete the job." Such occasions are naturally associated with big dinners prepared and cooked by the skilled hands of laughing, happy housewives.

Formerly the Amish opposed fire insurance because they felt that loss of property by fire may be a punishment from God, and the

punishment should not be lessened by making provision in advance. In recent years, however, the Amish have organized a system of mutual fire insurance. The Amish also help each other in moving, accomplishing in a single day what would require weeks for a single family to do alone.

That Amish mutual aid is not only for physical but also for spiritual ends is illustrated by the fact that bus loads of Lancaster County Amish travel to Lebanon County to join their brethren in divine worship on Sunday. They maintain a neighborly spirit towards others also, but especially toward those of their own "household of faith."

Bachman begins his discussion of "Bundling" with Webster's definition: "To sleep or lie on the same bed without undressing; said of a man and woman, especially lovers." In addition to this definition the reviewer has heard it as a tradition that the Amish practiced bundling not only fully clothed but also "with a sheet between them."

Until magazine articles mentioned bundling as a well-established institution among the Amish, their life-long non-Amish neighbors in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, had for the most part never heard of it. It was practiced earlier, even in New England. Among the Somerset County Amish it was prohibited by the discipline adopted in 1837. But the practice continued and Jacob Swartzendruber in 1851 moved to Iowa to help establish an Amish church where bundling was not tolerated. Amish Conference records show that he continued to protest against the practice during the next two decades.

The author quotes H. K. Landis as writing that there has been no bundling among the Amish for over a hundred years. The reviewer once heard a native-born Amishman of Lancaster County say that in the early seventies he helped to break up the last case of bundling that came to his knowledge. After a wedding near Gap the young people learned that two couples were in bed in an upstairs room. He was one of a number who stole upstairs, entered the room and overturned both beds, rolling their occupants on the floor. This could not have been earlier than 1871 or 1872 and not later than 1875. Whatever may have been the earlier attitude toward the custom, it was in utter disrepute at that time, disapproved by the older people and practically unknown to the young people except as a well-nigh forgotten and disgraceful practice.

The reviewer has heard that the custom still prevails among the Amish in parts of the United States. He has no direct proof. As Bachman points out, if the practice were as general as is sometimes hinted, there would be frequent illegitimate births and pre-marital pregnancies among the Amish. The author states that the leaders would not approve bundling because they are too deeply concerned with the welfare of their young people to allow immorality and unclean living.

In writing about the "Superstitions" of the Old Order Amish people, the author mentions their interest in almanacs which furnish information in regard to "signs" for planting seeds, digging post holes, putting on roof, and similar matters and their use of "pow-wowing" in case of certain forms of illness. But he insists that it would be a mistake to consider these as Amish customs, because non-Amish, as well as Amish, consult almanacs and "pow-wow doctors."

The author makes one of the very few serious mistakes in his book when he lists the Amishman's refusal to be photographed as a "superstition" and connects it with "taboos" among primitive peoples and with an early German superstition mentioned by J. G. Frazer in his book, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* "that if you have your portrait painted you will die." Not being photographed does not rest among the Amish on a superstitious taboo, but is a religious prohibition based on the Amishman's desire to obey the Bible literally. His motivation springs from obedience to the Second Commandment "Thou shalt not make . . . any likeness of anything."

"The author is certainly mistaken when he attempts to use an instance cited in an article by the reviewer on page 89 of the April, 1933, issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* to prove that it illustrates the principle suggested by Frazer. In the case cited in the *Review,* two young Amish women were disciplined for having their photographs taken. The Amish explanation is the obviously correct one: "The church forbids having a likeness made because the Bible forbids it. And we obey the church."

The author refers to three different "Schisms" in Lancaster County: the Amish Mennonite Church beginning in 1877, the "Peachy" Church beginning in 1911, and a schism in the latter group which resulted in two churches known as the "King" people and the "Stoltzfus" people. He states that for the first century and a half of the history of the Amish in Lancaster County (roughly from 1714 to 1877), there appear to have been no great disturbances in the con-

gregations. During the eighteen sixties the Amish in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana began to build meetinghouses and conduct Sunday schools. By 1877 the influence of this movement caused a large number of the Amish people in Lancaster County to leave the mother church. Those congregations which left the strict old order took the name Amish Mennonite, and are now a part of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference. This conference is a member of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church, and shares in the general work of the Mennonite Church. This group is sometimes referred to in Lancaster County as the "Church Amish" to distinguish it from the Old Order "House Amish."

The schism of 1911 which resulted in the formation of the "Peachey Church," although now divided into two branches, is still known as the "Peachey Amish." The "King" branch left the "Peachey" church, when the latter voted to permit the use of automobiles. The "King" group embraces less than twenty families and the congregation is in fellowship with several congregations in Mifflin County. In their manner of dress, service of worship, and means of travel there is no difference between the "King" Amish and the Old Order, but they may use electricity and in the fields tractors in place of horses.

The other branch of the "Peachey" Amish, the "Stoltzfus" people have purchased a meetinghouse called the "Weavertown" Meetinghouse. As a result they are referred to as the "Weavertown Amish Mennonites." Naturally the change from holding services in the home to holding them in the church building has far-reaching consequences. The members go to their own homes for the noon meal. Services are conducted in the German language, but they no longer use the *Ausbund*. They conduct a Sunday school which meets on alternate Sundays when the regular worship service is not held. Weddings are held in the church building, but there is less emphasis on Tobias in the ceremony. They use electricity and tractors for all purposes and there is no restriction as to the style or color of automobiles. In dress there is little difference between them and the more conservative Amish. There is greater freedom on the question of the Meidung. Young people may marry outside the church but not a non-Christian. These "Stoltzfus" people are not affiliated with any conference but they sometimes preach for the more liberal Amish Mennonites.

In a concluding chapter entitled "Our Kind of People" the author gathers together a variety of details, the inevitable "overflow notes"

of the painstaking research student. For instance he finds among the Amish frequent use of the expression "unser sort Leit." "Er is net von unser sort Leit" (he is not of our kind of people). And again "Sella weg duna unser sort leit" (that is the way our kind of people do).

The author finds among the Amish no feeling of inferiority. They have everything they need. They are satisfied. Neither do they have a feeling of superiority. There is nothing of a "holier than thou" attitude among them. They know that the Amish coat or hat may not always rest on a perfect example of their faith. They are, however, glad to be recognized as "plain people," "plain" in all aspects of their life, their church services, their home furnishings, their clothes, their general attitude toward life. They have no titles. The ministers, deacons, or bishops are known merely as Henry, David, or John.

They dislike publicity. They cannot understand why anyone should be interested in studying or writing about them. They suspect that the inquisitive visitor is trying to find something wrong about their way of life. They are very friendly with other denominations and do not hesitate to attend funerals or other services where ministers of other churches preach. They welcome visitors but are more likely to accept without question the one who is able to speak Pennsylvania German.

They realize that, like their fathers, they must expect misunderstanding and persecution, and they are willing to accept the status of "strangers and pilgrims." But in spite of what might be considered the narrowing effect of their restrictions and prohibitions, they are a happy people, happy in their church, in their community life, and in their homes.

* * * *

The reviewer hopes that this summary report of Calvin George Bachman's study of the Lancaster County Old Order Amish may lead students to read the book. The Mennonite whose roots sink deeply into the traditional culture of the Old Order Amish, finds here a reminder that it is possible to stray, unconsciously, far from the simple faith of his forefathers. The student of religion finds here an answer to many of his puzzling questions dealing with practical Christian living. The sociologist in search of a Utopia, finds here many strong hints of rural life values and of the finer aspects of

community living. The student who reads Calvin George Bachman's book and the more recent monograph by Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* reviewed by Melvin Gingerich in the July, 1943, issue of the REVIEW, can view this interesting twentieth century idyll of sixteenth century rural life through sympathetic eyes, trained to observe and to evaluate.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1942-1943

Silas Hertzler

The statistical tabulation for Mennonite schools and colleges in the United States and Canada includes fifteen institutions for the school year 1942-43. It is to be regretted that the Herbert Bible School, of Herbert, Saskatchewan, sent no information. Tabor Bible School, which did not send in returns for the previous year, is included again at this time. One new academy, the Lancaster Mennonite School, sent its first annual report for this year. The list of schools included in this report is as follows:

Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn Oklahoma
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
German-English Academy and Bible School, Rosthern, Sask.
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Immanuel Bible School, Reedley, California
Lancaster Mennonite School, Lancaster, R.F.D. 4, Pa.
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Tabor Bible School, Dalmeny, Sask.
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Zoar Academy and Bible School, Inman, Kansas

Table I lists the schools included in the study, arranged according to total attendance reported. The range is from 447 at Goshen College to 32 at the Zoar Academy and Bible School and at Tabor Bible School. Only five schools report gains in attendance over the previous year. The range of increase is from eight at Hesston to forty-six at the German-English Academy. The range of decrease at the other schools which reported for the previous year is from four at the Immanuel Bible School to ninety-five at Bethel.

Tables II and III give enrollment by classes in college, and in classes not of college grade. As in the past, Goshen and Bethel have the largest number of students of college grade. Bethel had the largest freshman class. Goshen had the largest number of seniors. A few post graduate students were reported at Goshen and at Bethel.

Nine schools reported college freshmen, while only seven reported sophomores. Hesston College and Eastern Mennonite School each report a few students in what is generally called the senior college. Degrees are regularly conferred at the other four Mennonite colleges. More than twice as many begin college, as enter the second year. This indicates rather poor holding power. Approximately the same proportion of decrease is found between the sophomore and junior years, though this is in part due to the fact that several institutions are junior colleges only. Further explanation is found in the fact that some students finish teacher education courses at the end of two years, and then begin teaching in the elementary schools. Irregularities are explained in the footnotes. A slight decrease is indicated in college attendance. The increase in academy enrollment is largely due to the 337 students in the new Lancaster Mennonite School, though 200 of these were students in a special Bible course which lasted for six weeks only. Every one of the fifteen schools included in the study had some students not of college grade, although as in past years the largest regular academy enrollments were at the Eastern Mennonite School and at Hesston. Complete high school courses are given at nine schools, though two of these, being Canadian schools, complete the high school work in three years, instead of four. Fourth year work in these schools is of college freshman grade.

Table IV classifies the Mennonite students into sixteen different groups, although the differences in many cases must be slight. Three groups of Amish Mennonites are included. The main bodies represented are the [Old] Mennonites, General Conference Mennonites, and Mennonite Brethren. The total number of Mennonites is larger this year due to the opening of the Lancaster school.

Table V gives the states from which Mennonite students come. The Mennonite group is quite cosmopolitan. Twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia are represented, besides four Canadian provinces and three other foreign countries. More Mennonite students this year came from Pennsylvania than from any other state, though in the past Kansas always has been in the lead. Non-Mennonite students came from seventeen states, from the District of Columbia, from Hawaii, and from two Canadian provinces.

Table VI lists the Mennonite students of college grade. Table VII lists the Mennonite students not of college grade.

Summer sessions are conducted only at Goshen, at Bethel and at Bluffton. The accelerated program is most evident at Goshen where students were enrolled for two three-week summer sessions and one nine-week session. The three-week sessions were conducted on the so-called Hiram plan, where the student worked in one field only for the entire three weeks. By taking the three sessions a student could take one semester, or one half year of college work during the summer. Table VIII gives these summer session statistics.

Table IX shows that there were more women students then men at eight of the schools for which statistics were received. There were more men only at the German-English Academy, at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, at the Corn Bible School and at the Oklahoma Bible Academy. Three institutions did not analyze the attendance records accurately so as to show the number of men and of women, although combined totals were given.

Table X gives comparative totals for each school year since 1928-29. Attendance of Mennonite students for the school year 1942-43 was 2536. This number was exceeded only for the year 1936-37, when the total reported was 2640. The attendance of college students was 1341. This number was lower than for any year since 1936-37. The academy attendance of 1063 was the largest reported for any year during the fifteen years that this study has been made.

Diplomas, degrees, and certificates are reported in Table XI. The number of degrees granted is smaller than previously at each of the three schools granting most of the degrees which were conferred. Seven different bachelor's degrees were reported. The B.R.E. degree conferred previously at Tabor was not reported this year. Two-year college, and one-year college diplomas were given indicating the completion of work in junior college, Bible and Theology, teacher training, and secretarial work. Academy or high school diplomas were given to 239 students who finished the four year high school course. Other diplomas and certificates of high school grade were given for Bible and for commercial courses. A total of 558 degrees, diplomas, and certificates were granted in fourteen schools.

Table I

TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

School	College	Academy	Bible	Other Departments	Total Enrollment
Goshen College	399[1]		48[2]		447
Bethel College	346			46[4]	392
Eastern Mennonite School	82	208	76[2]	22[3]	388
Lancaster Mennonite School		137	200[5]		337
Hesston College and Bible School	69[6]	148	51[2]	18[3]	286
Bluffton College	175			60[3]	235
Tabor College	151	37[7]		15[8]	203
German-English Academy	45	108[9]			153
Freeman Junior College	42	70	8[10]	6[11]	126
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	32	92			124
Corn Bible School		81			81
Oklahoma Bible Academy		73[7]			73
Immanuel Bible School		51[12]			51
Tabor Bible School		32			32
Zoar Academy and Bible School		26[13]		6[14]	32
Total	1341	1063	383	173	2960

[1] Five graduate students; six correspondence students.
[2] Six weeks Bible term.
[3] Correspondence students not of college grade.
[4] Music students not of college grade.
[5] 47 day students and 153 evening students in six weeks Bible school.
[6] Five are in the Christian Workers Course; four correspondence students.
[7] 23 Bible academy students.
[8] Special students unclassified.
[9] Forty of these are Bible academy students.
[10] Twelve week Bible term.
[11] Evening classes.
[12] Four of this number have finished high school.
[13] Each student takes three academy and two Bible subjects.
[14] College grade evening school in Bible.

Table II

ENROLLMENT BY CLASSES, COLLEGE STUDENTS, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

College	Post Graduates	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Total
Goshen	5	51	38	65	109	42[1]	83	6[2]	399
Bethel	5	41	38	69	123	5	65	..	346
Bluffton	..	35	23	31	53	16	17	..	175
Tabor	..	11	17	43	80	..	..	..	151
Eastern Menn. School	..	2	3	22	44	11	..	..	82
Hesston	..	..	2	13[3]	43[4]	7	..	4[2]	69
German-English Acad.	..	..	..	..	45[5]	..	..	..	45
Freeman	..	..	..	12	28	2	..	..	42
Menn. Collegiate Inst.	..	..	..	..	32[5]	..	..	..	32
Total	10	140	121	255	557	83	165	10	1341

[1] Part time.
[2] Correspondence students.
[3] Two Christian Worker's seniors.
[4] Three Christian Worker's juniors.
[5] Classified as Grade XII. College credit is given.

Table III

ENROLLMENT BY CLASSES, STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

School	High School Classes					Other Depts.	Total
	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Bible		
Lancaster	15	28	34	56	200[1]	42	337
Eastern Mennonite School	57	36	60[3]	51[4]	76[5]	26[6]	306
Hesston	50	43	22	32	51[5]	19[7]	217
German-English Academy	..	47	31	30	..	..	108[8]
Mennonite Collegiate Inst.	..	46	23	23	..	..	92
Freeman	19	18	16	17	8[9]	6[10]	84
Corn Bible School	13	26	20	17	..	5[2]	81
Oklahoma	12	8	18	34	..	1[2]	73[11]
Bluffton	..	..	..	..	..	60[12]	60
Tabor College	11	10	9	7	..	15[2]	52
Immanuel	..	..	13	37	..	1	51[13]
Goshen	..	..	..	..	48[5]	..	48
Bethel	..	..	..	..	..	46[14]	46
Tabor Bible	..	7	9	16	..	..	32
Zoar	..	..	10	16	..	6[15]	32
Total	177	269	265	336	383	189	1619

[1] Six weeks Bible term, 47 day students, 153 evening students. [2] Special students.
[3] Ten high school Bible seniors. [4] Nineteen high school Bible juniors.
[5] Six weeks Bible Term students. [6] Four special; 22 correspondence.
[7] One classification deferred; 18 correspondence. [8] Forty Bible students.
[9] Twelve week Bible course. [10] Evening students.
[11] Twenty-three Bible students. [12] Correspondence students not of college grade.
[13] Four are high school graduates. [14] Music students.
[15] Evening students in Bible; high school graduates.

Table IV

MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

Denomination	E. M. S.	Lancaster	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Tabor	Ger. Eng.	M. C. I.	Freeman	Bluffton	Corn	Oklahoma	Immanuel	Tabor Bible	Zoar	Total
(Old) Mennonites	352	326	303	4	253	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1242
General Conference	..	..	3	284	17	5	130	63	94	92	1	71	..	2	3	765
Mennonite Brethren	..	..	..	5	..	120	16	51	6	..	74	..	48	11	2	333
Krimmer Menn. Breth.	1	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	9	..	..	..	1	1	18	58
Evan. Benn. Breth.	..	..	..	2	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	34
Conservative Amish	20	4	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Central Conference	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	20
Menn. Breth. in Christ	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Defenseless Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	9
Weavertown Amish	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Hutterdorf	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Kleine Gemeinde	..	..	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Sonnenberg	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Rudnerweider	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sommerfelder Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
O. O. Amish Menn.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Menn. Unclassified	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Total	381	335	328	295	273	172	148	124	116	114	75	71	49	32	23	2536

Table V

STATES, PROVINCES AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1941-42

	E. M. S.	Lancaster	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Tabor	German English	M. C. I.	Freeman	Bluffton	Corn	Oklahoma	Immanuel	Tabor Bible	Zoar	Total
Pennsylvania	159	334	33	..	2	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	550
Kansas	..	..	7	231	119	95	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	23	485
Ohio	26	..	79	..	2	..	..	..	..	62	..	..	..	..	..	169
Oklahoma	1	..	..	16	2	28	..	..	..	..	71	51	..	..	..	169
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	..	1	121	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	..	154
Indiana	14	..	121	..	2	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	149
Virginia	131	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	132
South Dakota	..	..	..	5	..	1	..	..	112	..	..	..	..	..	..	118
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	107	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	108
California	..	..	..	4	2	19	..	..	..	..	..	1	49[1]	..	..	75
Illinois	..	..	47	..	7	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	64
Iowa	2	..	12	..	29	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	46
Nebraska	..	..	1	17	12	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
Oregon	3	..	3	..	29	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
Michigan	9	..	8	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Ontario	2	..	4	..	..	..	9	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Minnesota	..	..	..	12	6	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Maryland	21	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
Alberta	..	..	2	..	..	..	17	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Colorado	..	..	2	..	19	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Texas	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	4	9	..	..	..	16
Missouri	..	..	..	1	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Idaho	..	..	1	3	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
North Dakota	..	..	..	..	7	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Montana	..	..	..	1	3	3	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	11
New York	5	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
British Columbia	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Argentina	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Delaware	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Washington	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
West Virginia	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Arkansas	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
India	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Paraguay	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
New Jersey	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
North Carolina	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Tennessee	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	381	335	328	295	273	172	148	124	116	114	75	71	49	32	23	2536

[1] Detailed statistics not given; assumed that all Mennonite students are from California.

Table VI

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1941-42

School	Men	Women	Total
Bethel	122	129	295[1]
Goshen	112	168	280
Tabor	..	..	124[2]
Bluffton	47	44	91
E. M. S.	34	46	80
Hesston	28	36	64
German-English	..	..	45[2]
Freeman	..	..	34[2]
M. C. I.	21	11	32
Total	364	434	1045

[1] Statistics not given for 44 summer session students included in the total.
[2] Detailed statistics not given.

Table VII

Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1941-42

School	Men	Women	Total
Lancaster	..	....	335[1]
E. M. S.	115	186	301
Hesston	..	..	209[1]
German-English	..	..	103[1]
M. C. I.	49	43	92
Freeman	..	..	82[1]
Corn	38	37	75
Oklahoma	40	31	71
Immanuel	24	25	49[2]
Tabor College	..	..	48[1]
Goshen	21	27	48
Tabor Bible	..	..	32[1]
Bluffton	7	16	23
Zoar	..	..	23[1]
Total	294	365	1491

[1] Detailed statistics not given.
[2] Four are reported as having already finished high school.

Table VIII

Summer Session, 1941, Mennonite Schools and Colleges

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	60	86	146[1]
Bethel	22	72	94
Bluffton	25	39	64
Total	107	197	304

[1] This number represents the total, not counting duplicates, for the three summer terms. The total enrollment for the separate terms was as follows: Three-week intersession 100; nine-week summer session, 113; three-week post session, 36.

Table IX

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1941-42

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	189	258	447
Bethel	165	227	392
E. M. S.	154	234	388
Lancaster	..	..	337[1]
Hesston	121	165	286
Bluffton	101	134	235
Tabor	83	120	203
German-English	102	51	153
Freeman	38	88	126
M. C. I.	70	54	124
Corn	42	39	81
Oklahoma	41	32	73
Immanuel	25	26	51
Tabor Bible	..	..	32[1]
Zoar	..	..	32[1]
Total	1131	1428	2960

[1] Detailed statistics not given.

Table X

Comparative Enrollment Statistics, 1928-1942

Year	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
1928-29	1025	513	847	569	...	122	1538
1929-30	1259	708	1085	609	...	273	1967
1930-31	1515	665	1234	710	110	126	2180
1931-32	1337	591	944	522	259	203	1928
1932-33	1135	538	906	416	277	74	1673
1933-34	1259	476	921	348	402	64	1735
1934-35	1742	530	1025	550	502	195	2272
1935-36	2274	574	1151	1050	470	177	2848
1936-37	2640	496	1242	948	800	146	3136
1937-38	2258	680	1431	821	542	144	2938
1938-39	2221	586	1447	690	530	140	2807
1939-40	2164	628	1560	808	308	116	2792
1940-41	2101	608	1581	688	343	97	2709
1941-42	2218	600	1494	887	294	143	2818
1942-43	2536	424	1341	1063	383	173	2960

Table XI

DIPLOMAS GIVEN AND DEGREES GRANTED, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1941-42

Title	Goshen	Bethel	Bluffton	Tabor	E. M. S.	Hesston	Freeman	Ger.-Eng.	M. C. I.	Oklahoma	Corn	Tabor Bible	Immanuel	Zoar	Total
B. A.	28	34	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	92
B. S. in Education	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Th. B.	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B. S. in Home Economics	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B. of Music	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
B. S. in Ind. Arts	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B. S. in Comm. and Econ.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Junior College	..	..	..	13	4	11	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
Two year normal	4	..	..	8	10	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Junior College Bible	..	..	..	..	2	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Two yr. diploma in Theology	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Junior College Special	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
One year normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
One year Secretarial	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Academy	..	..	..	11	71	35	19	45	28	18	12	..	..	..	239
Elementary Bible (3 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	19	9	..	..	33
High School Bible (2 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	10	31
Winter Bible School Diplomas	8	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Bookkeeping	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Stenographic	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Total	77	41	34	43	95	51	58	50	28	18	31	9	13	10	558

1 Called Christian Workers Course at Hesston and at Goshen.

BOOK REVIEWS

A COMMUNICATION FROM C. HENRY SMITH CONCERNING THE REVIEW OF HIS BOOK "THE STORY OF THE MENNONITES"

Bluffton, Ohio
April 10, 1943

Dr. Harold S. Bender, Editor
The Mennonite Quarterly Review
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

Dear Dr. Bender:

I read the review of my book "The Story of Mennonites" by yourself and Dr. Correll in the Mennonite Quarterly Review of October, 1942, with a great deal of interest, and wish to thank you for your kind treatment of the book. Many of your suggestions and criticisms are justified; some others, perhaps, are based on differences not so much of facts as opinions and judgments; and as you know, the doctors sometimes differ. I would like to call attention to several of the latter, not in any way of a criticism of your fine review but rather to explain a little more fully some of my own points of view.

I. First of all you have been very considerate in calling attention to so few of the minor errors which have crept in as a result of misprints, poor proofreading, as well as some errors of fact for which the writer alone is responsible—errors in capitalization, spelling, dates, misplaced lines, etc. All these have been marked in case of a second printing of the book.

II. As to the suggestion that too little space has been given to the Old Mennonites as compared with the General Conference Mennonites this explanation for the seeming discrepancy might be made:

(1) The whole story of the Mennonites in America up to about 1850 belongs to the "Old" Mennonites as does also the history of all the branches up to that time, since there was only one church, up to that time, the time when Oberholtzer, Brenneman, and Holdeman left the church to found new wings. The special story of the "Old Mennonites begins only with these divisions. Keeping that in mind the space given the "Old" Mennonites since the middle of the past century may not seem so much out of line when compared with the other branches.

(2) The General Conference Mennonite story is one of new episodes and ventures in the general course of Mennonite development. Introductory new movements and departures demand more space usually than the main current which runs along the main groove with little unusual to record. It is only innovations that have news value, and historians usually, I believe, are inclined to stress the course of new ventures whether progressive or retrogressive. If nothing happens, of course then there is nothing to record.

I would make one change however in the writing. The heading "Old" Mennonite should have a separate chapter heading rather than a mere paragraph heading, so as to give it equal prominence with the General Conference heading. And perhaps that section then ought also to have a somewhat fuller treatment since 1850, though even here too, from the point

of view of "news" value during this period, the General Conference covered a wider range of new ventures than the "Old" Mennonites—such as, early mission work among the Indians, the educational endeavor at Wadsworth, affiliation with the Federal Council for a time, a broader participation with the non-Mennonite world in general, all of which, of course, has "news" value, whatever else might be said about it. The later missionary and educational efforts of all the branches are treated together in the chapter on Culture and Progress.

(3) Perhaps the fact that the book was published by the General Conference largely for the General Conference reading public justified a somewhat fuller treatment of General Conference activities than those of the other branches. I presume however, that if you will compare this book with most of the others written in recent years you will find that I have given a much fairer allotment of space to the various branches according to their importance in the movement as a whole than most of the others, most of which have been written from a more or less partisan standpoint. Wherever the "Old" Mennonites deserve particular mention, and where they have exercised a dominant influence as in the relief work during and after the World War I have called attention to this fact; and since the beginning of the present war too they have played a leading role in the splendid work done by the Mennonite Central Committee, but this book closed in 1939 before the fine service of Orie Miller and other "Old" Mennonites, as well as Henry Fast of the General Conference, in behalf of the Civilian Public Service camps began. This story must be told by future historians.

(4) I was not aware that I had pinned my hopes for a future united Mennonitism, which I am sure would be a desirable objective for all of us, on the program outlined by the General Conference. I thought that my suggestion was that the future lay rather with our colleges, Bethel, Goshen, Bluffton, and other church schools, all of which fortunately are still equally beacon lights of pacifism in their respective constituencies, and no doubt the most effective guardians of the essentials of the traditional Mennonite faith; a pacifism based on a much more intelligent and firm foundation than a back to the farm movement, or a particular cut of dress, or even a spirit of other worldliness. To be sure it is much easier to maintain any particular unpopular movement or practice in a solid farm community which is a self-sufficient economic and social as well as a seclusive religious unit, but that won't permanently preserve our distinctive doctrines and practices. If we are going to depend entirely upon a policy of social and religious isolation for the maintenance of our principles, then we will have to keep our young people out of our high schools too, for it is my firm opinion that the high school is doing more to undermine our distinctive religious and social beliefs among our young people than any other one influence. If we are going to preserve the faith of the fathers in these days of the radio, the automobile, rural mail and the centralized high school I am firmly convinced that it will have to come through a process of the right kind of education and perhaps re-education in our church schools and colleges. Mennonites do not differ in the fundamentals, but merely in non-essential and minor details of religious and social practices as, the form of baptism, the intensity of a religious emotion, the cut of a coat, or degree of social intercourse with the non-Mennonite world. Every one I think would agree that ultimate union of the different branches would be highly desirable; but it is certain that it

will never come through a process of absorption of one group by another. The only possible chance of united effort will be through some sort of federation which will unite all in their common tasks but leave enough of individual liberty to carry on their distinctive practices. When once the religious leadership of the church in the different branches becomes as wise and as tolerant as the educational leadership, unity through federation will be well on its way.

III. Your suggestion that the book places too little stress on "interpreting the essence of Mennonitism" and on the "impact of changing environment and changes in piety" and in "ethics and basic attitudes," and that more attention should be paid to the history of "inner attitudes," is a pretty large order in view of the paucity of source material on these matters. If one were to indulge very widely in these realms he would soon find himself in the field of mere speculation, rather than in objective history, where we would have mere opinion rather than fact. Mennonites remained largely a country people and for many years did not greatly change their ideas and practices. But where they lived in cities, as they did in Holland and certain parts of Germany, I thought I stressed as far as source material warranted the causes of their changed attitudes, especially in the matter of their peace principles.

I have noticed that when our Mennonite historians enter the realm of speculation and sociological interpretation they are inclined to dig down so deep into the rootage from which they think Mennonitism springs that one hardly recognizes any connection with things Mennonite. A good example is an article written by Benjamin Unruh some years ago for *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* in which he tries to trace the debt owed by the Mennonites in Russia to certain philosophical trends of the time. The connection, it seemed to me, was so farfetched that if he had not mentioned the term Mennonite, one could not have suspected what he had in mind. Even Dr. Correll in his splendid history of the Swiss Mennonites, in his attempt to interpret the Mennonites of that country in the light of Max Weber's sociological theories, frequently throws very little light upon "the essence of Mennonitism" or the "impact of changing environment and changes in piety."

The group of young sociological students of Chicago, to be sure, are blazing a new and interesting trail in their study of Mennonite life and practice, but they are describing present trends for which they have ample accessible source material upon which to base their studies. They are sociologists, not historians. They are not discussing the trends of three hundred years ago in out of the way corners of Europe. Of course, knowledge of the background of the general historical trends is essential to an understanding of the Mennonite movement, but digging into the subsoil far below the rootage of Mennonitism results only in confusion.

As for the chapter on the Anabaptists you will notice that I have devoted seven full pages in the chapter to "the essentials of Anabaptism" in addition to frequent references throughout the chapter to principles and practices as they appear in the narrative. I presume what you have in mind is that I do not enter deeply enough into the inner emotional life of the movement, namely, that I am too objective. Of course, one may look at any question either as an insider or an outsider. Both methods have their advantages and disadvantages. I thought my treatment was sufficiently clear and sympathetic to give the reader a fairly accurate picture of the whole movement.

IV. You say that I have overemphasized the individualism of the Anabaptists. That depends, of course, upon the definition we give to individualism, and the connotation we put into the term. Of course, it does not mean anarchy, the right to do and think as one wishes against the general beliefs held by the majority of a group, and yet remain in the fellowship of the group to which one belongs, religious or social. But it does mean that one must arrive at his faith in God through his own conscience as he interprets his Bible. Conscience certainly is not a collective matter, but individual. The Catholic followed the priest unconditionally; the Lutheran and the Reformed, their theological doctors and their governments, but the Mennonite followed his own conscience, his individual conscience. He had to make his decisions for himself; even his fellow Mennonite, or his preacher could not made that decision for him.

The church was merely a fellowship of congenial and like-minded believers. It had divine sanction as did many other institutions, democratically organized, maintained and governed. Bishops and ministers were democratically elected with only such powers of discipline as the individual members, the majority of them gave to them, nor did they or the church have the "infallible character" with which the Catholics clothed their priests. If this is not the form of Mennonite church organization then I find considerable difficulty in deciding which of the seventeen branches of the Mennonite denomination is the true church. I maintain they are all true churches.

V. Marbeck and Denk. The statement that Hans Denk was "the greatest of the south German Anabaptists" may have been somewhat exaggerated, better perhaps "one of the greatest"; but is not the counter claim that Pilgram Marbeck was "certainly the greatest of the south Germans" also merely an unjustified exaggeration based on opinion only. Superlatives and comparisons are always dangerous. It is not easy to compare the relative importance of these two leaders, and that for a number of reasons, including the fact that Denk lived and labored primarily during the early formative period of the movement, 1525 to 1530, while Marbeck did not show much activity until after the foundations had already been well laid, after 1530, when many of the founders had already been executed and the movement had been driven under cover in many sections. It is only in recent years that Marbeck has been regarded as of primary importance as one of the founders. Early writers all agree that Hans Denk was the most prominent of the south German Anabaptists, such writers as Loserth, Newman, and for awhile John Horsch. The fact that Marbeck was able to live out his natural life in those trying times without much persecution seemingly, and even able to occupy important official positions would seem to indicate that outside of his literary endeavors he may not have been as valiant a defender of the faith as some of his predecessors or even his contemporaries. Denk, who was the influential leader of the Augsburg congregation during the peak of its prosperity, and chairman of the famous Augsburg convention of 1527, the author of a number of Anabaptist dissertations, friend of many of the early leaders, some of whom he baptized, and co-laborer with Ludwig Haetzer in the translation of some of the Old Testament Prophets, certainly can not be read out of the Anabaptist party as you suggest. To be sure by the standards which we set up today he may not have met all the requirements of orthodoxy as we interpret them. He was perhaps a better Quaker than Mennonite, inasmuch as in his later days he seemingly minimized the value of religious ceremonies

and sacraments. I must still insist, however, that he was "the gentlest spirit of the whole Reformation movement." You would have to go back to St. Francis of Assisi to find his counterpart. His right to be included among the great Anabaptist leaders must be measured entirely by the influence he exerted upon the Anabaptist movement of his day.

I am not quite sure of all the errors of which you speak regarding Marbeck, but am assuming that the following are what you have in mind:

(1) His death occurred in 1556, not in 1546. My manuscript had 1556, not 1546, the latter being an error of the printers. Errors as to dates are especially difficult to avoid even in proofreading. I notice that in your correction you also have the date 1551 which likewise was a mistake of the printers, overlooked in the proofreading.

(2) Marbeck likely was not a monk, although that is not as yet established as a proven fact. One of his biographers says he was, but without adequate proof. The belief that he was not, rests largely on the fact that he married early and that he held official positions usually denied members of the clergy or monastic orders. The fact that his parents were devout Catholics, and that Pilgram had early training in Latin was one of the sources for the belief that he might have been designed for the church.

(3) Yes, I had access to Wenger's scholarly work on Marbeck, as well as the later works of Loserth and other Anabaptist historians.

(4) There may be some objection to the spelling of the name Marbeck, instead of Marpeck as it is spelled by some of the modern writers. Pilgram himself in one of his letters signs his name with a "p" instead of a "b," though his close relatives use the "b," the form also used by his earlier biographers.

VI. Hans Hut was given extensive notice in the section on Middle Germany because of his influence on Anabaptism throughout that section, and because he introduced a new type of Anabaptism throughout those regions that later had some bearing on the excesses of the later Münster leaders, some of whom he baptized. The fact that Hut was not orthodox according either to the saner standards of that day or this does not justify the historian in neglecting him in a story of the Anabaptist movement. He certainly impressed his views upon the movement of that region beyond that of almost any other leader. Saint and sinner must both be given their dues in an accurate account of historical events.

VII. I have tried to treat all of the seventeen odd branches of the church impartially and objectively without any prejudice and have tried to remain clearly within the realm of facts as I interpreted them. If one were to clearly ignore all the mistakes and personal peculiarities of the different parties in their controversies you would get rather a distorted and colorless picture of the past. I have not written for any particular group but for all of them. You realize how difficult it is to please all the groups from the experience we had with our pamphlet in the series written for the C.P.S. camps. I will admit that several expressions have found their way into the book that upon second thought had better been left out. Comparing the early "Bruedergemeinde" in Russia to the "Holy Rollers of Benton Harbor" and crediting the rise of the Holdeman faction to Holdeman's "ambition to preach" and his failure to reach his ambitions by "the uncertainties of the lot" would better have been left out, and will be in case of a second printing. But with these few exceptions I believe I kept fairly even keel in my

account of these different controversies. The fact that I began my religious career in Illinois as an Amishman, then in Indiana joined the "Old" Mennonites, to transfer later to the Central Conference, and in recent years to unite with the General Conference when I came to Bluffton, ought to qualify me as a fairly cosmopolitan Mennonite in my outlook and sympathies. Whether my course was an upward or downward one in the scale of true Mennonitism in these transitions I am not able to say. I found them all true to the faith, with only minor differences that really do not count. I think that I underwent no radical change in either thought or practice during all this time, not even clothes.

As for the Amish, the only way to differentiate them from the other Mennonites is to call attention to their specific religious and social customs and practices since that is all that does set them apart from the other groups. This I did without in any way making light of what both you and I regard as unneccessary scruples for the preservation of what to them may seem to be sacred traditions. If these peculiarities of theirs may seem trivial to the general reader that is not the fault of the historian who merely aims to record them. I do not believe that any one who knows the Amish would say that I have exaggerated the facts in my description of their social customs and religious practices. I enjoyed John Umble's detailed story of the Union County Amish with his reference to their quaint sayings and the poor spelling of one of their preachers, which will draw a broader smile from the reader than anything I have said. But the reader who does not know them will not get much enlightenment from it as to the distinctive features of Amish life which distinguishes them from other Mennonites. Poor spelling is not only an Amish sin. Umble writes for a different reading public than I do. He writes as an Amishman for an Amish public, and can thus take their distinctive practices for granted without describing them. I am writing for the general public from the standpoint of a sympathetic observer. Umble is in the procession; I am on the side lines.

VIII. It is true that the exodus of the Russian Mennonites from Germany to Paraguay took place in the spring before the Danzig conference, although the fate of the Paraguayans was given considerable attention at the convention.

It is also true that the governing officials of the Paraguayan colony were selected in Germany before their departure for Paraguay; but according to Dr. Walter Quiring, the historian of the colony, these officials had considerable difficulty in managing the affairs of the colony during the early period of the settlement. Due to the wide distances which separated the different colonies and poor means of transportation a modified form of government somewhat different from their earlier Russian type had to be adopted for a time. And according to the same authority the rather arbitrary rule of the first Oberschultz and several other officials, even though democratically elected, was one of the causes of the separation resulting in the Friesland colony.

IX. The statement that Menno was baptized and ordained at Groningen may not be correct, and the statement was an error or oversight, at least on the part of the author. And yet neither is the exact date nor place of Menno's baptism definitely known. One arbitary claim may be as erroneous as the other. The suggestion that both took place at Leeuwarden rests on specula-

tion only. His conversion took place in 1536, and it would seem that his baptism soon followed, though Menno does not specifically say so, nor is Leeuwarden named as the specific place. Obbe Philips, who lived at Leeuwarden and who baptized Menno, found that his home town was already under suspicion of the authorities because of Anabaptism as early as 1534, at which time Obbe found it expedient to remain in hiding for a time. It is not at all certain that he remained there for any length of time after this. Whether Menno was baptised at Leeuwarden or Groningen is still a matter of speculation. I presume your correction of my date, which you give as 1535, is likewise a typographical error.

Again thanking you for your sympathetic review of the book, and assuring you that the above remarks are in no way meant as a criticism, but merely as a further explanation of some of the incidents in the book that I did not make sufficiently clear to the general reader, and thanking you too for calling attention to some errors as to facts, I am

Yours very sincerely,
C. Henry Smith

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